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Selections.

EXIGENCIES OF THE COUNTRY.

The following memorial was presented last spring, to the New-York Legislature. We cut it out for insertion at the time; but amid the pressure of public documents, it was laid over. It is well worth being read and considered:

Pursuant to public notice, a meeting of citizens of Williamsburg, Kings county, State of New-York, was held on the 7th instant. Mr. J. Warner was called to the chair, and P. Shapter, Jr. appointed secretary.

The object of the meeting was stated to be, the consideration of the miseries and distress, which now overwhelm our country, and the remedies therefor.

After a prolonged and animated discussion, it was "Resolved, That, in the opinion of the meeting, the institution of southern slavery is the prime cause of *all* our sufferings and misfortunes, and that legislative action is the only remedy."

And, on motion, a committee was appointed, to draft a memorial to our State legislature, praying immediate action toward removing our grievances.

Which committee reported, at an adjourned meeting, held on the 14th instant, whose report, and the draft memorial accompanying it, (a copy of which memorial is hereunto annexed,) were received and adopted, as the sense of the meeting.

On motion, the officers of the meeting were directed to affix their names to the memorial, and forward it to the assembly, for presentation.

Williamsburg, March 14, 1842.

To the Honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of New-York, now in session:

This memorial of citizens of Williamsburg, Kings county, respectfully showeth—

That we have, in common with our fellow-citizens of the free States of this Union, suffered much from the action of the general government; controlled as that action manifestly is, by the undue influence of the slaveholding States.

That we are aware of still greater mischiefs impending, from the same cause, which, indeed, appear inevitable, unless that influence be now promptly met and restrained; and, having in vain besought that government, to hear and receive our humble petitions for redress, we now respectfully approach our own legislature, feeling assured that in *that* quarter, our petitions *will* be *received*, and *heard*, and *considered*. And though, from the magnitude of the injuries, past redress for them may be found impossible, we entertain a confident assurance, that the paternal care and wisdom of the legislature, will devise and put in force some plan, effectually to prevent and restrain, for the future, the evils which we cannot doubt *must* ensue, without such restraint.

We respectfully submit, therefore, that at the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, two provisions were inserted in that instrument, of a most singular and anomalous character—one, the section relating to the scale of representation; the other, requiring that fugitive slaves should be given up by the free States, if found therein. To the effect of both of these provisions, we pray the earnest consideration of the legislature. Of the second, we purpose to say somewhat in this memorial hereafter. But *here*, we postpone them both, with a single remark, that these concessions, however monstrous they may now appear, were only extorted from the free States, by the full understanding, that, from the general detestation in which slavery was then held, it was deemed certain that slavery could exist but for a short period only, and must soon be exterminated, by the force of public opinion. The history of that period, the recorded opinions of the best and most eminent men of the revolution, and the extreme *care* and *caution*, with which the terms "slave," and "slavery," are avoided throughout the whole of those articles of co-partnership—the Constitution of the Union—are proofs of the truth of this assertion.

So far, however, from this implied faith having been redeemed, and slavery abolished, it is lamentably true, that, on the contrary, it has been *extended* and *increased*. Encouraged by the countenance given to this enormity, by these concessions, and *always* acting *unitedly* on this point, the slave States have systematically divided and arrayed the people of the free States, into two great parties, each against the other. By their own *union*, and our *divisions*, they have always succeeded in obtaining the prompt and eager assistance of *both* parties, for the conservation of the presumed interests of slavery; and, for more than forty years, to control the entire action of the general government, and the destinies of the country. Whether this control has been exercised for its interests and honor, or to its infinite damage and disgrace, we beg leave to be permitted to inquire.

Filled with the presumption and arrogance, which the daily exercise of arbitrary power might be expected to produce in the breasts of slaveholders, they have ruled us with a rod of iron. The currency established by the fathers of the Constitution, was destroyed under the most base and frivolous pretenses. Envious of northern commerce and northern prosperity, they protected it, forsooth! by gun-boats, embargo, non-intercourse, and war! Under *such* protection, they succeeded most effectually, in *destroying* it. Whether they did or did not *intend* this, let those who remember the doctrines disseminated at that time, judge. "Commerce," we were told, "is demoralizing." "Cities are no more necessary to the body politic, than ulcers to the human body." "Commerce must be destroyed," was the cry. That it *was* destroyed, by the measures of government—then, as now, in the hands of slaveholders—is a *fact incontrovertible*.

They prostrated the free States, by those measures; they nearly severed the Union—an event only averted by a sudden and unexpected, though *much wished-for peace*. They destroyed the credit of the government, and their own. What, then? The same hands that pulled down the first system of currency, gave us another, of *exactly the same kind*. They had urged the war, on the ground that it would give birth to domestic manufactures. They now, (in 1816,) gave us the first tariff of protection. Whether at any time, they were favorably disposed toward the encouragement of domestic manufactures, or only advocated them, in the mistaken hope, that the success of these would prostrate northern *commerce*, can only be judged of by what followed; for, from 1829 to 1833, we find the *same men* in array against the work of their own hands, demanding that their *own* system of currency, and that their own system of protection, should be abandoned, or that they would abandon and dissolve the Union.

Many, very many, of the items, in the black catalogue of the doings of the slaveholding influence, we are compelled here to omit altogether; and to many of the most prominent, we only now allude: both because they have heretofore been brought under public notice and scrutiny, and because we cannot repress the hope, that committees may be appointed by the legislature, for investigation and full reports thereon. We name, then,

The infamous Missouri compromise.

The occupation of the province of Louisiana by *slave* States, though purchased by the treasure of the *nation*.

Florida, bought with five millions of the same treasure, also filled with slavery.

The first Seminole war—for slavery—the *present* war in the same quarter, with its bloodhounds, its burning of villages and corn-fields—*all* for slavery, and at an expense already, as we are told, of forty millions of dollars.

The threat of war to the South American States, should they, in the just exercise of their belligerent rights, attempt the conquest of Cuba.

The refusal to acknowledge the independence of Haiti, to the deep injury of our commerce.

The infamous robbery and expulsion of the Cherokees, and other Indian tribes, in violation of the plighted faith of the government, and in contempt of the solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the Union.

These, and the immense multitude of crimes, and horrors, which the dark spirit of slavery has driven our government to enact, constituting a mass of oppression, injury, and disgrace, to the free States, without parallel,—we merely allude to thus briefly, in the confident hope that the legislature will accord to them that deep and searching investigation, which their magnitude and atrocity require, and which the honor and safety of the people of this great State so urgently demand.

And who, we respectfully ask, are the parties who chiefly bear the loss and damage? and whence are the funds drawn, which pay the expense of these costly villanies? The loss and damage are borne almost entirely by the free States. The funds, also, necessary to pay the cost, are, for the most part, drawn from the fruits of *their* unceasing and untiring industry. On *their* commerce fell with the besom of destruction, the pitiful expedients of embargo and non-intercourse, followed by the more serious wickedness of the war of 1812. It was the blood of *their* people, chiefly, which was shed in that war. It was *their* treasure, chiefly, which sustained it, and *their* treasure which finally paid the debt thereby incurred. And by them is the disgrace of the other enormities above alluded to, most deeply felt; and from them are funds drawn, in by far the greater proportion, which pay the expense.

In order to prevent cavil on this latter point, we beg leave here to explain; and a single instance will give *our* meaning. We are not so ignorant as to suppose that ALL the *revenue collected*, in the port of New-York, for example, is derived from the people of the State; but what we do intend is, that the *duties on those imported goods* which are CONSUMED within the State—duties amounting probably to not less than *four or five millions of dollars annually*—are so much *paid*, by the people of this State, into the coffers of the general government. Does any part of *this* sum, or the smallest portion of that vast revenue, collected in *her* port, go to defray the expense of the State or city governments? anything toward the construction of her vast works of internal improvement? or to the support of her common schools? any part to serve as the basis of a sound State currency?—Not *one* dollar to any of these objects. All, all goes to the support of a government, powerless for good, though mighty for mischief; and which, under the influence which has so long governed it, begins to be universally felt, as merely an engine of oppression and disgrace.

We pass over cursorily, also, the contumely with which our representatives in Congress have been treated,—the injuries and indignities with which our free citizens have been treated, in the slave States, if known or suspected to entertain feelings and views, favorable to human rights. The imprisonment of our *innocent* free citizens, in southern ports, or, *if guilty*, guilty only of a skin not colored like that of those lords of the ascendant. Nor do we mean to say much of the violated right of petition, (*secured*, we were going to say, but) *accorded* to us, by express provision, in the Constitution of the United States. Our back has been fitted to all *this* burden, by long endurance; and, when feelings of just indignation would arise to our lips, as we think of *these* things, and of the contempt with which our petitions have been flung back in our faces, we are restrained, by the sense of conscious shame, that our own hands erected this monstrous idol of slavery on its pedestal, and that these free States were the first to fall down and worship it!

There is one matter, however, even among those to which we can only briefly allude, which, we submit, requires to be brought out into more distinct relief. It is known to your honorable body, that our government has, for many years, been earnestly employed, in negotiating with foreign nations, for an advantageous vent, in their markets, for the produce of southern slavery—for abatement of duties thereon, &c. What success has crowned their efforts in *some* instances, and with what unabated zeal our ministers abroad are employed, in consummating success for the remainder, are too well known for detail in this place. Now, it is equally well known, that the principal argument employed by the South, against the *protective system* was, that the duties of protection were taxes on the agriculture of the country. The fallacy of that argument has been often shown, but its truth or falsehood is not material in this place. What *is* essential, is the indignant sympathy which they professed to feel, for what they called the oppressed agriculture of the country. How far, we respectfully inquire, did this sympathy carry them? In all the negotiations for a market—for the abatement of duties, &c. has any one of our foreign ministers been instructed to negotiate for a market, for the *great staples* of the *free States*; for *their* bread-stuffs—*their* provisions, lumber, &c.; or for any reasonable and reciprocal modification of the duties thereon? Two years ago, the governing influence of this country was challenged to produce a single instance of this sort; and, up to this time, we look in vain for the announcement, *that the first step has been taken for this object*. How far their professions of sympathy were sincere, and whether the government at Washington is impartially wielded, for the benefit of the whole country, or is under the entire control, and employed for the exclusive benefit of southern slaveholders—we pray our legislature, from this instance, earnestly to consider.

Regret and indignation for the past, however, we respectfully submit, are vain and useless, unless they conduct us to the path of duty and safety, *in future*. What *shall* be *done*, and what *avoided*, are vital considerations, in reference to past mischief and indignities; and to those *still greater*, which are rapidly approaching. What do the proceedings in the national legislature indicate? We see the shadowy outline, of a vast and dark conspiracy, complex in detail, but single in purpose; namely, to enlarge the bounds of slavery, and to insure its firm and perpetual conservation. We see our slaveholding executive requiring a great nation to abrogate a fundamental law of its empire; which law is necessary to its safety and honor, as well as to human liberty and happiness. We are told, by the base *lickspittles of the court*, at Washington, that, unless this demand be acceded to, WAR is inevitable! In the Senate, we see the man who has already done so much mischief to the free States—the guiding mind—the master-spirit of slavery—compelling the senators to pledge themselves in "solid phalanx," (that is the phrase,) to support the executive, in this demand. We next see an attempt of the same kind, in the people's House of Representatives, defeated temporarily, however, under Providence, by the sagacity, and invincible courage, of one glorious old man—weak, indeed, from the burden of years, and standing on the verge of the grave; but endued with the vigor of youthful genius, by the righteous cause he felt himself bound to defend.

We are called upon to increase our navy, to an enormous extent; and are significantly told, with very little circumlocution, that this navy is wanted—for what? To defend our commerce? Not at all; but that it is required chiefly for a *home squadron*, to protect the coasts of the southern States against invasion! And what provision is required of Congress, to protect *northern commerce?* Of what may become of *that*, they appear to be perfectly reckless. For, not content with *one* war, with the greatest naval power in the world, it is quite plain that they are determined to have Texas, with her brood of slave States, in embryo, annexed to the Union, though war with Mexico must inevitably ensue! With our commerce exposed to the privateers and navy of Great Britain, on the one hand, and on the other, to every freebooter of the world, sailing under a Mexican commission and flag, there will doubtless be very little of American commerce left, for either the government or the free States to defend.

And is there nothing in the indebtedness abroad, of the States individually, to the enormous extent, it is said, of two hundred or two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, out of which a war may become inevitable? Will *repudiation* pay these debts? Or will the people abroad, holding the evidences of this indebtedness, be able to discover no means of enforcing payment? If the States be called on for payment, by the governments whose people it is thus basely attempted to cheat, by repudiation, must not the general government either go to war, to defend them, or assume their debts? That the free States are *able*, and *ultimately will* pay, there can be no doubt; but is that the case with the slave States? And are the people of the free States willing to go to war for *them*, or to pay *their* debts?

But alarming as may be the evils, which appear to be so certainly approaching, there is one, more deeply important, because it is the fruitful source of them all. We mean the condition in the Constitution, which requires the surrender of fugitive slaves. The other condition, relating to the scale of representation, is, as to us, one of great and glaring disadvantage, merely; and which, as we entered into the Union with our eyes open, and is simply a question of *profit and loss*, as to political power—we might not very easily evade, or get rid of. But the other condition, is one of an entirely different character, and one which the recent decision of the Supreme Court has rendered supereminently important. We might assail it on the ground of *implied faith*; namely, the understanding that slavery would soon be abolished, after the adoption of the Constitution, and that this implied faith not having been redeemed, it is not now binding upon us. We might also, upon the ground of strict construction, (so favorite a doctrine with the South,) *deny the existence* of any such condition. But we suspect that the decision of the Supreme Court, already given, would nullify both of those positions. The pledge of implied faith is "*not in the bond*;" and therefore the court could not consider it—and as for the strict construction of southern slaveholders, the court, to its honor, has heretofore given very little countenance to it. There can be no doubt that the condition is *there*; and that the court, acting under their oaths, to administer the Constitution, could give no other decision; and yet, notwithstanding this decision of that truly venerable court, we respectfully assert and contend, that this condition *has not, never had*, and *never could* have, the smallest *legal binding force, whatever!*

We take our stand against the detestable condition, on that fundamental principle of law, received and admitted as *such*, in all countries in Christendom, and we believe in all civilized countries, whether Christian or not, and certainly, in OUR OWN COUNTRY, namely—that no *agreement to commit a wrong*, or to do *wickedly*—no matter who may be the parties—no matter whether the agreement be written or verbal, express or implied—can have a moment's *legal* or *equitable* validity. Can an agreement to kill, to plunder, to rob, to commit arson, or any other conceivable wickedness, be valid, or enforced by any decision of any court whatever? Would not the prosecuting parties be driven out of court, with the deepest indignation, and with the solemn adjuration, that so far from being bound to fulfill such agreement, they, both parties, were under a *prior obligation not to do wrong?*

Can this condition in the Constitution be an exception to this rule? Where the effect of a condition is to do wickedly, *it must come under the rule, and be invalid*. Nor can the contracting parties, however high, or placed beyond the reach of ordinary coercion, *continue* to *abide* by it, WITHOUT THE DEEPEST GUILT. And what is American slavery, into which this condition requires us to return the fugitive, but pure and unmitigated *villany* and *crime*, both for master and slave; not as something accidental, which may, or may not, accompany the estate of slavery; but *inherent*, and *inseparable, from its very nature?* We have shown this, again and again, and we pray to be heard, by counsel, on this, and the other statements of this memorial, either at the bar of the House, or before committees, appointed with power to send for persons and papers.

Merely to state this ground of the invalidity of this wicked agreement, must carry conviction with it, that the contracting parties had no right even thus to bind *themselves*, much less to bind us, their successors. Could the smallest doubt remain, however, it must vanish before the express words of the statute, emanating from the *highest* conceivable authority. With that reverence which we pray always to retain, whenever we approach *His* judgments, and *His* statutes, we quote from Deuteronomy, xxiii. 15, 16:

"Thou *shalt not* deliver unto his master, the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him."

Can we continue to abide by this wicked contract, and thus violate both the highest human law, and this express statute of the *Divinity?* When the command says, thou shalt NOT deliver the fugitive to his master, and this contract says thou *shalt* deliver him up; by which of them shall we abide, and which of them must we obey? Our *own* duty is plain; and that of the legislature and State, we respectfully submit, is equally evident and palpable.

If, in what has been stated, we may seem to have reflected more on the subserviency of one of the great parties in the free States, than on the other, it is only because that party has been longer in the ascendant, and in the favorable regard of the slavery power than the other. Our indignation is equally warm against the base subserviency of both. For, if we have seen the leaders of one party eager to obey promptly the biddings and behests of the slaveholding influence; to pledge themselves, even uncalled for, and in anticipation, to the most dangerous and wicked courses, in order to *retain* power and the votes of southern slaveholders; we now see the other party, after outbidding their opponents in the abjectness of their servility, equally eager to demonstrate the sincerity of *their* pledges, by the indecent haste with which, on every fitting occasion, they are prompt and ready to redeem them. We see the man—deemed, not merely by his own party, but by the judicious of both, as "the foremost man," not of his own country only, but perhaps "of all the world," for his great abilities and mature judgment—we see him, the defender of Grecian liberty—the orator of Plymouth rock—while the music of his eloquent defense of human liberty was yet fresh in our hearing, and our bosoms yet heaving in response to his surpassing eloquence—we see *him*, not only in the unguarded moment of social *conviviality*—but also in the cooler moments of "*sobered second thought*"—throw himself, body and soul, into the arms of southern slaveholders, pledged to the unreserved support of their abominations!

"How are the mighty fallen!"

We see this man, whose arguments on currency constitute a study for future statesmen, which the country will hereafter regard as among its chiefest treasure of sound argument and thought, while the language shall endure in which they were delivered—we see him, *now—controlled* by the power to which he has vowed allegiance—lending his influence and great reputation to schemes of currency one after the other, each so worthless that, whether vetoed or allowed, it is impossible to suppose his judgment so depraved as to approve them. We see him, in whose arguments we were wont to look for invincible logic, flowing in a stream of the purest and most finished diction, *now* driving the country into a war, by an argument which he *must* be aware is utterly untenable, and couched in terms immeasurably beneath his great abilities;—and, last scene of all, thus far terminating this "strange, eventful history," we see him, sunk already in his rapid descent from his former high and lofty state, to the deep humiliation of receiving loathsome praise from the archdemon of slavery, for this wretched abortion of his genius.

And now, may it please your honorable body, what is our petition in the premises? Is it too much, in the extreme danger of our position, to suggest respectfully, since these evils have mainly grown out of divisions among ourselves, artfully fomented by the body of slaveholders, they themselves continuing firmly united, whether it is not the *duty* of the legislature to set an example to the people of the great State of New-York, and of the other *free* States, by joining hands, at least on *this* great question of human liberty? We have not the presumption to ask, perhaps not to wish, that our legislators should renounce their principles of party action, or to coalesce on any other of the grounds which, perhaps, must necessarily lead to oppositions of sentiments in governments so popular as ours. *We also* belong to the different parties into which our citizens are divided, and cannot ask our legislators of either party to abandon principles, which, however imperfectly we may comprehend them, we cherish in our heart's deepest recesses. But, in the midst of "so many and so great dangers," when, without a currency or credit, with the people weaned from the Union, that Union virtually dissolved, and all by the action of the government itself, that government is driving us into war, for the conservation and extension of the monstrous iniquity which is the fruitful source of all the great mischiefs past, present, and to be apprehended for the future, it surely cannot be deemed too much, to pray that the legislature will unite as one man, on the great questions, and matters, which we here respectfully submit for its consideration.

We pray, further, that this, our memorial, may be referred to a committee or committees, with instructions to report promptly in accordance therewith; that, by joint resolutions of both houses, the governor be requested to correspond with the executives of all the free States, on the matters herewith submitted; and, if need be, to call a convention of the people of this State, and to recommend conventions to the people of the other free States, and generally to take such measures to avert dangers so imminent to the safety, to the honor and good name of the people of the free States, as to your honorable body may appear expedient.

JAMES WARNER, *Chairman.*
PETER SHAPTER, JR. *Secretary.*
Williamsburg, 14th March, 1842.

From the Emancipator.

MARYLAND.

We have never given full scope to our exulting reflections at the final defeat of the great "Slaveholders' Convention" of the State of Maryland, held at Annapolis, in January last. An intelligent and keen-sighted citizen of Illinois, who was brought up in the South, told us that he regarded that event as the turning point in the history of slavery in this country. Taking into view the extensive preparation made, the zeal and energy displayed, the stake avowedly put at issue, and the advantages under which the slaveholders came to the strife, it was certainly a momentous occasion. And when they were, in the issue, defeated so signally in a border slave State, where, by a new apportionment, their political power is now taken away forever; when their grand effort to erect a barrier against the influx of abolition was so entirely overthrown, and their agglomerations of soft mud swept away by the torrent of free principles, perhaps our western friend was right in pronouncing this to be the doubling of the cape towards general emancipation. At any rate, there is now no fear that the slaveholders will ever again have strength enough to carry such a measure through one house of the Maryland legislature; but on the other hand, as they have begun to fall, they will surely give way, step by step, in rapid succession. Maryland is ours, as certainly as time shall roll onward.

One effect of this defeat of the slaveholders has been to open the mouths of the friends of emancipation to speak their minds, as they have not dared to do, hardly in whispers, for ten years past. We heard a gentleman, at the colonization convention in Washington, exultingly point to the growth of the free labor portions of Maryland, and declare, that in a few years not a slave would tread her soil. At the conference of the Protestant Methodist Church, held lately in Baltimore, the subject of slavery was discussed for days, on its merits as a question of right and wrong. Still more recently it has been debated in the Episcopal Convention of the State. And although abolitionists would find little to approve in the resolutions passed, the discussion must do good, and the opening of the subject for discussion is irrevocable, and will lead to immense good.

Many of the reflections that have arisen in our mind in view of this subject, and many others, arising from a more advantageous position and greater intimacy of acquaintance, we find so forcibly expressed by the Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, in his new magazine, called, "Spirit of the XIXth Century," that we have concluded to copy a considerable part of the article, omitting only some sentences of merely local interest. Mr. Breckenridge entitles his article, "The Result of the Effort made by the Slaveholders' Convention at Annapolis."

"In our number for March, the reader may remember, we published a remonstrance against the petition of the 'Slaveholders'' Convention, referred to above; and gave a syllabus of the plan dictated by that convention to the legislature of Maryland, for the perpetuation of slavery in this commonwealth, and for the total ruin of its 62,000 and more free blacks. The bill which was brought into the popular branch of the legislature, by a large and influential committee of the House, was far worse than the project of the convention; and exhibited a system of injustice and inexpediency the most indefensible that was ever, in our knowledge, seriously proposed to the people of this State, by any party, on any subject. We add, with deep regret, that this bill, somewhat amended, but yet retaining its main features, passed the House of Delegates by a majority of ten or eleven votes, out of some eighty odd, that constitutes the body.

"No serious alarm was felt by the public generally, that the legislature would lend itself to such proceedings, until the bill actually passed the lower House; and then only about twelve days remained, before the Assembly would be compelled by the constitution, to adjourn. An immediate and overwhelming burst of public indignation was heard in nearly every part of the State; and in some portions of it, as in the city of Baltimore, the opposition to the bill was apparently almost unanimous. The result was that the Senate rejected the bill, by a vote, as we understood, of fifteen to six. And so the matter stood for the present.

"We have reason to believe that this movement in Maryland is not by any means isolated and unpremeditated; but that it is part of a concerted plan, covering all the border slave States, if not the entire slave interest; and that it will be renewed from time to time, here and elsewhere, in various forms and under various pretexts, as the ambition of party leaders, or the reckless folly of heated partisans, may suggest. Let the friends of public order and peace, of moderate councils, of the progress of civilization, and of the union of the States, consider the signs of the times, and what their duty calls them to do.

"There can be no doubt, that, throughout all the slaveholding country, a state of sound, thoughtful and enlightened sentiment, upon this whole subject, is far more extensive than superficial observers have an idea of. We have watched this subject for above twenty years, with deep interest and fixed attention, and with no ordinary opportunities of making up a true judgment. And we hesitatingly assert, that in our opinion the violent proceedings, counsels and opinions, uttered by newspapers, politicians and loafers, do not express the views of the great mass of the people in the slaveholding States. The people are not in favor of cruel, violent, or unreasonable measures or principles. We appeal to the recent developments of public sentiment in Kentucky and Maryland, in proof and illustration of what we say.

"It is a great element of truth for all practical purposes connected with this whole subject, and which no man, and especially no man who loves the Union, can overlook, that the political condition of the question, as a general case, is shifting every day, and with ceaseless and irresistible force; wherefore all standing still, much less all going back, is not only impossible in the nature of the case, but it is too ridiculous to be thought of, by men with cool heads and large views. The thing cannot happen, in the nature of the case; it is therefore supremely idle to attempt to force it, by means which only defeat themselves. When South Carolina was as strong as the whole State of New-York, she had one position; when she is hardly as strong as the *city* of New-York, she has another. When Maryland ranked with Pennsylvania, she was what she was; when she falls behind Illinois, she is what she is. When the slave States were twelve-thirteenths of the Union, as they were when the federal constitution was adopted, the slave interest was quite another thing from what it now is, when its physical and political power is as one-third, or as it will be at the next census, when it will be perhaps one-fifth. This is the silent, certain, irrepressible result of causes which abolitionists never had anything to do with; which pro-slavery men are utterly powerless in resisting; and which, whatever we may think of them, have been working, are working, and will go on to work their own end, by their own inherent force.

"Nothing, then, is more clear, than that this matter of slavery, like every other human problem, must work out, in some form or other, its own solution; and that bad laws or projects are just as certain to disturb, as good ones are to promote, the process. Whatever may be wise or right elsewhere, Maryland determined, before most of us now alive were born, that this problem could receive only a particular solution in her borders; a solution clear, natural, just, politic, practicable, beneficent. For fifty years has she adhered to this opinion. And in our poor judgment, every motive that ever commended to her the policy she has so long pursued, still exists with undiminished force. Let her execute it fully and faithfully, and coming generations will bless her venerable name. And she will do it. And they who wish her now to depart from her fixed views, will find, unless we greatly err, that the lessons she has so long taught her children, have been well learned, and are hard to forget.

"We have a word to say in regard to the 'Maryland State Colonization Society,' and its policy and opinions, lately and formerly avowed by itself and its organs. But we forbear; remarking only, and hoping not to be obliged to recur to that part of the subject, that in our opinion the *cause* never stood higher, nor the *society* lower, than at present."

These remarks, published at Baltimore, and coming from so decided an anti-abolitionist as Dr. Breckenridge, are themselves a convincing proof of their own truth, and a guaranty for the fulfillment of their own predictions. Maryland will not go backward, while Dr. B. is there.

TAKE NOTICE!

☞ TRAVELLER'S DIRECTORY. ☜

We copy the following list from the Liberator, for the benefit of all travellers, who wish to patronize railroads, where no invasion of the rights of American citizens is made on account of complexion:

SHAME! SHAME!

"A vile complexional distinction, enforced by brutal assaults. 'Hail Columbia, happy land!'"

Boston and Providence, Taunton and New Bedford Railroad.—Summer Arrangements.

On and after Tuesday, March 15th, the passenger trains will run as follows:

The United States Mail train will leave Boston daily, Sundays excepted, at 5 o'clock, P. M.; and Providence daily, Mondays excepted, on the arrival of the mail train from Stonington.

Accommodation trains leave Boston for Providence, Dedham, Taunton, and New Bedford, daily, Sundays excepted, at 7 A. M. and 4 P. M.

Leave Providence for Boston, Taunton, New Bedford and Dedham, daily, Sundays excepted, at 7 A. M. and 4 P. M.

Leave New Bedford for Boston and Providence, daily, Sundays excepted, at 6 1-2 A. M. and 3 1-2 P. M.

Leave Taunton for Boston and Providence, daily, Sundays excepted at 7 1-4 A. M. and 4 1-4 P. M.

W. RAYMOND LEE, *Sup't.*

SHAM REPUBLICANS!

"An odious distinction on account of color, and a bullying propensity to carry it out."

Eastern Railroad.—Summer Arrangements.

On and after April 25th, Trains leave Boston, for Newburyport and Portsmouth, at 7, 10 1-4 A. M., 5 P. M.

For Lynn and Salem, at 7, 8 1-2, 10 1-4, A. M., 12 1-4, 3 1-2, 5, 7 P. M.

PORTSMOUTH,

For Newburyport, Salem, and Boston, at 7 A. M. 12 1-2 P. M. 4 P. M. or on the arrival of the boat from Kennebec.

NEWBURYPORT,

For Salem and Boston, at 8 A. M. 1 1-2, 5 P. M.
For Portsmouth, at 9 A. M., 12 M., 6 3-4 P. M.

SALEM,

For Lynn and Boston, at 7 1-4, 9, 11 A. M., 5 3-4 P. M.
For Newburyport and Portsmouth, 8, 11 A. M., 5 3-4 P. M.

MARBLEHEAD BRANCH.

Marblehead for Salem.	Salem for Marblehead.
7, 8 3-4, 10 1-2 A. M.	7 3-4, 9 1-4 11 A. M.
12 1-2, 2 1-4, 5, 7 P.M.	1, 2 3-4, 5 3-4, 7 3-4 P. M.

JOHN KINSMAN, *Master Transportation.*

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR IS DUE.

"No unwarrantable distinctions."

Norwich and Worcester Railroad.—Railroad and Steamboat line between Boston and New-York.

The New-York steamboat train will leave Worcester every day, Sundays excepted, on the arrival of the train which leaves Boston at 4. P. M.; and will leave Norwich for Worcester and Boston, on the arrival of the steamer from New-York.

Accommodation trains leave Norwich at 6 A. M. and 4 1-2 P. M. daily, except Sundays.

Leave Worcester at 10 A. M. and 4 P. M.

The trains leaving Norwich at 6 A. M. and Worcester at 9 1-2 A. M. and 4. P. M. connect with the trains of the Boston and Worcester and Western railroads.

T. WILLIS PRATT, *Sup't*

"Equally free for all."

Nashua and Lowell Railroad.—Summer Arrangement.

On and after Monday, March 14th, the passenger trains will run, in connection with the cars of the Boston and Lowell railroad, as follows:

Leave Boston at 7 and 11 A. M. and 2 and 5 3-4 P. M.

Leave Nashua at 6 1-4 and 10 1-4 A. M. and 1 1-4 and 5 P. M.

Leave Lowell at 8 1-4 A. M., 12 1-4, 3 1-4 and 7 P. M., or immediately on the arrival of the cars from Boston.

All baggage at the risk of the owners.

On the arrival of the cars at Nashua, stages leave for any part of New Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and Canada, via Concord, Keene, and Charlestown, N. H., Windsor, and Brattleborough, Vt.

Books are kept at the stage offices, 9 and 11 Elm street, where seats can be secured in any of the coaches, and correct information obtained respecting any of the stage routes.

Passengers from Mason Village, New Ipswich, Keene, Walpole, Bellows Falls, and Brattleboro', Vt. daily, by 7 o'clock cars from Boston, through in one day, and Albany and Saratoga second day.

ONSLOW STEARNS, *Superintendant.*

"Humanity respected."

Boston and Lowell Railroad.—Summer Arrangement.

On and after Monday, March 14, the passenger trains will run as follows:

Leave Boston at 7 and 11, A. M.; 2 and 5 3-4 P. M.

Leave Lowell at 7 and 11, A. M.; 2 and 5 3-4, P. M.

The morning and evening trains will stop for way passengers at the usual stations.

CHARLES S. STORROW,
Agent Boston and Lowell Railroad Company.

"Equality of privileges."

Western Railroad.—Summer Arrangement.

On and after Monday, May 2, 1841, passenger trains run daily, (Sundays excepted,) from the depot of the Boston and Worcester railroad, as follows:

Leave Boston at 6 1-2, A. M., and 3 1-4, P. M. for Albany.

Leave Albany at 6, A. M., and 7, P. M. for Boston.

Leave Springfield at 2 1-2 and 6 1-4, A. M. and 1 1-2, P. M. for Boston.

Leave Worcester at 6 1-4 and 9, A. M. and 5 3-4, P. M. for Springfield.

The morning train from Boston arrives at Springfield at 11 3-4, A. M.; at Pittsfield 3, at Chatham 4 1-2, and at Albany 5 3-4, P. M. Fare through, $5.

The cars leave Albany for Utica at 7, P. M. The steamboats leave Albany for New-York at 7, P. M.; arrive at New-York at 5, A. M.

The evening train from Boston arrives at Springfield 8 1-2, P. M.; leave next morning at 6, arrive at Pittsfield 9, at Chatham 10 1-2, and at Albany 11 3-4, A. M.

The morning train from Albany arrives at Chatham at 7 1-4, at Pittsfield 9, A. M.; at Springfield 11 3-4, P. M. and Boston 6 3-4, P. M.

The evening train from Albany arrives at Chatham at 8 1-4, at Pittsfield 10, P. M.; at Springfield 1 1-2, A. M. and at Boston 8, A. M.

The cars of the Hudson and Berkshire railroad will run between Chatham and Hudson, in connection with the above trains.

For Greenfield, Hanover, and Haverhill.—Stages leave Springfield daily, at 9, P. M. for Haverhill, via Northampton, Greenfield, Brattleboro, Hanover, &c. Passengers leaving Boston at 3, P. M. may take this line.

G. W. WHISTLER, *Engineer.*

"Human rights not invaded."

Boston and Maine Railroad.—Summer Arrangement.

On and after Monday, March 14, passenger trains will run daily, (Sundays excepted,) as follows:

Leave Boston at 7 and 11, A. M., and 5, P. M., for Andover, Haverhill, Exeter, Newmarket, and Dover.

Leave Dover at 5 and 10 1-2, A. M., and 4, P. M., for Exeter, Haverhill, Andover, Boston, Lowell, and Nashua.

Passengers can be conveyed from Nashua and Lowell to the stations on this road, by the trains which leave Lowell at 7 and 11, A. M. and 2, P. M.; and to Lowell and Nashua, by all the trains from Dover.

The depot in Boston is on Lowell street, and passengers taking the cars of this railroad are subject to no detention by change of conveyance.

Stages leave Exeter or Dover on the arrival of the morning train from Boston, for nearly all parts of Maine, and the northern and eastern parts of New Hampshire.

Merchandise trains run daily between Boston and Dover.

CHARLES MINOT, *Sup't.*

"No exclusiveness."

Boston and Worcester Railroad.—Summer Arrangement.

The accommodation trains run daily, except Sundays, as follows:

Leave Boston at 7, A. M.; 1 and 3, P. M.

The first and last trains connect with the Western railroad. The first and second with the Norwich railroad.

Leave Worcester at 6, and 9 1-2, A. M., and 4, P. M.

The second and last trains connect with the Western and Norwich railroads.

The New-York steamboat train, via Norwich, will leave Boston at 4, P. M. every day, (Sundays excepted,) stopping at Framingham, Worcester, &c.

A mail train on Sunday will leave Worcester at 6, A. M.; Boston at 1, P. M.

All baggage at the risk of the owner.

WILLIAM PARKER, *Sup't.*

From the Philanthropist.

FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

It has often been remarked, that whatever the system of policy adopted by the general government, the free States uniformly advance in population and wealth, while the slaveholding, as uniformly lag behind. We are all aware, that this is one reason of the instability of national policy—the slave power striving, by experiments, to make up for the losses growing out of its ruinous system of labor. Ten years ago, frightful pictures were drawn, of the condition of the South. Industry was paralysed—fields were left desolate—houses were going to ruin—towns were depopulated—the whole South was becoming impoverished—and the mischief, then, was attributed to a high tariff. Well, the compromise tariff was framed—the free trade principle, under certain modifications, adopted. What has been the result? Has the South been the gainer? Have her population and resources increased, with the rapidity, that was anticipated? Let the census answer. Let the universal bankruptcy of the South answer. Let the diminished trade of the South answer. Let the depressed price of cotton answer.

Mr. Calhoun, in reply to remarks lately made in the senate, touching this point, admitted that South Carolina was suffering under great pecuniary and commercial embarrassments; but he ascribed this condition to short crops, a destructive fire in Charleston, loss sustained by the insolvency of the United States Bank, expenditures on an impracticable railroad project, and the derangement of the currency in the neighboring States. And have not the free States suffered from short crops, and wasteful expenditures, and broken banks, and destructive fires? Remember, for instance, the terrible fire in New-York, some years since: and yet, these disasters have not, in the slightest degree, checked their progress; while South Carolina is standing still—her population of whites having increased but two thousand in ten years, and her exports being on the decrease!

But *one* explanation can be given of this startling fact—and that, even Mr. Calhoun may be prepared to admit, ere ten years more pass away.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION (Calvinistic) OF MASSACHUSETTS.

We learn from the New-York Evangelist, that this body met at Westboro, June 28th.

At the annual meeting last year, some discussion had arisen on the subject of slavery; and the following resolution and preamble were adopted:

Whereas, this association having repeatedly expressed their views respecting the moral character of slavery, and the evils arising out of it, believe

to let the subject of slavery alone, both as a moral and a political matter; and concluded, "our deliberate advice to you is, to let it alone." A fifth said, a full answer to the committee's letter would require them to write a volume; that they were not agreed among themselves as to the best modes of action in the case; that they could not aid them in making up their opinion as to their duty in regard to the subject; and therefore, not from any want of respect or fraternal feeling, they must decline farther correspondence. A sixth, commended the good temper of the committee's letter; said they thought much might be done to ameliorate the condition of the slave, if northern men would come there and preach the gospel to them; that a wide door was open for this; that much also might be done by the emigration of a free and industrious population—putting free and slave labor thus in competition, and placing the country in a good condition whenever the day for general emancipation shall come. They were fully persuaded, however, that all discussion, and all direct action on the subject at the North, were injurious. A seventh, spoke like men. They gave the committee an assurance of gratitude for the kind feeling manifested in their letter. They agreed, too, that the ministry and the Church of Christ were deeply involved in the existence and continuance of slavery, and in the degree of severity with which the yoke presses on the neck of its victims; and said, that as to churches and ministers, there were few among them that did not consider slavery as a sin against God and man, and that the conviction had long prevailed, that they must dispose of *slavery*, or it would dispose of *them*. They added, that nothing would take a good effect with the people of their section, that did not come in the shape of a candid appeal.

The report of the committee being before the convention, Rev. Dr. Codman moved a resolution of thanks to the committee for what they had done, and for the interesting information laid before the association; but as this was understood to discharge the committee from further action, a discussion arose on the question of their continuance, conducted in excellent spirit, and with much interest. A decided majority, however, were in favor of their continuance, at least for another year; and the original motion, being amended, was adopted, as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this body be given to the committee of correspondence with ecclesiastical bodies at the South, on the subject of slavery, for their attention to the subject of their appointment, and for the interesting and important information elicited by it, as presented in their report in part on the business assigned them.

Some discussion arose, also, on a proposition to print the correspondence; but it was generally agreed that it would not be wise to do so, in the present stage of it.

PRESBYTERIAN CONVENTION.

A great convention of delegates from the Presbyterian churches of the West was lately held in Cincinnati. Among the usual subjects which attract the attention of Christian philanthropists, slavery was not forgotten.—Anti-slavery resolutions were adopted with almost unanimous concurrence. The southern clergymen took it all very quietly. The probability is, that they saw plainly enough that it would all end in mere *talk*; and that the resolutions would save the credit of the church, without doing much, if any harm to their darling institution. The edge even of the talk was taken off by Dr. Cox's pillowy resolution. Mr. Blanchard's proposition was the only one that implied *doing* something, and *that* excited warm discussion, and was rejected.

We copy the following from the correspondent of the New-York Evangelist:

The committee on slavery presented the report, which had been looked for with the deepest interest both on the part of members of the convention and the public. The house was full, and the audience most attentive. Professor Stowe, who read the report, prefaced it by making some caustic remarks concerning the reproach cast on Americans, and especially American Christians, that they could not calmly discuss the subject of slavery in the spirit of Christian love.

Report of the Committee on Slavery.

The committee to whom was referred the consideration of the subject of slavery, beg leave to report the following resolutions:

1. We recognize the African race as a part of the human family, whom God so loved that he gave his Son to make atonement for their souls.

2. We consider ourselves bound by the great law of love, to seek their best good for time and eternity, as truly as that of any other portion of the human family.

3. We consider the African slave trade as one of the most monstrous exhibitions of wickedness that the world has ever seen.

4. We maintain that the enslaving of parents by violence, fraud, and unutterable wickedness, can never give the right to enslave their posterity; and therefore, whatever may have been the nature and ground of ancient servitude *as God has not authorized us* to enslave the descendants of these Africans, no one can have the right to enslave them.

5. We consider slavery as a heinous sin against God and our brethren—against God, as it violates the law, which requires us to love other men as ourselves, and to do to them as we would that they should do to us—against our brethren, as it deprives them of the right which God has given them, to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

6. We view slavery as opposed to the benevolent spirit and designs of Christianity, as it forces those for whom Christ died, and whose elevation Christians are bound to seek, into a state of mental and moral debasement, prevents them, in a large majority of cases, from reading the word of God, and places them in circumstances of strong temptation, so that the great mass of them sink into the grossest wickedness; and as it exposes them to horrid cruelties, and oppressions, which often come upon them, under a system imposing no proper responsibility on the master.

7. We consider the doctrine, that slaves cannot be emancipated until they are enlightened, to be unsound; as from the nature of the case, a community of slaves, as such, cannot, to any considerable extent, be enlightened; the laws in most of the slaveholding States forbidding it; and slaveholders, many of them, being as much opposed to their instruction as to their emancipation.

8. We regard the hope, that the gospel will remove slavery, while the Church sanctions it, a delusion. The influence of slavery is lowering the standard of piety, and brings both the master and the slave into temptation to such wickedness, that its tendency is to corrupt the gospel, and banish it from a slaveholding community.

9. We consider it as proved, by the result of the experiment in the West Indies, that the only way to elevate the colored race, is to give them mental and moral culture, just as we do the heathen; and that they may be emancipated with entire safety, and to the infinite advantage of the community in which they reside.

10. It is therefore our solemn conviction, that those who have their brethren in bondage, ought to give them their liberty, and that they can only in this way escape the displeasure of God.

11. We regard those in the churches who justify or apologize for slavery, as in a fearful degree responsible for its continuance, as they quiet the conscience of slaveholders, and uphold them in their evil course.

12. We would, however, exhort the officers and members of our church, in applying these principles in any relation, to act with wisdom and with prayer, that their means may be as good as their ends, that they may not show any unkind or inconsiderate action, remembering the relative difficulties and entanglements of the subject; that they may deliberately aim to do nothing rather than do wrong; and that they keep in mind the reflection that zeal without wisdom may only increase the evil they deprecate, and delay the good they so cordially desire; while, on the other hand, we are as much disinclined to moral imbecility and time-serving, as to radicalism and rashness.

The report was accepted, as it has been here presented, with a few *verbal alterations*, and the addition of the last resolution, which was presented by Dr. Cox.

The first three resolutions were unanimously adopted. On the fourth and fifth there was but very little discussion; but in the vote, Rev. Mr. Black, of Kentucky, voted each time in the negative. As the sixth resolution was originally presented, the closing clause, "under a system imposing no proper responsibility upon the master," read thus, "*from the caprice and rage of irresponsible masters.*"

Mr. Black rose and inquired what ideas were attached to the expression "irresponsible masters?" Are masters irresponsible to law, to public sentiment, and to God? We at the South feel an intense interest in this subject; and if such a declaration is spread, southern men will say *it is false*. For I believe, and they believe, that there is just as much responsibility on masters in reference to their slaves, as there is at the North, on parents to their children! and that a statistical report of *facts* would show just as great an abuse of children by drunken fathers, as of slaves by drunken masters!! I ask my dear brethren to look at our situation at the South, and say whether it will not be better to express themselves with calmness and mildness; for if we ministers there, go all lengths with you in these severe expressions, *we must leave the South destitute of the saving influences of religion.*

Rev. Mr. Snead arose to explain the meaning of the resolution. It did not mean that legally there was no responsibility on the part of the masters to the law for the abuse of their slaves, nor that there was no responsibility to God; but that *practically*, from the nature of the case, masters were irresponsible; so that the most horrid cruelties and crimes are suffered to pass not only unpunished, but unnoticed *as wrong*; yes, and the public at large sympathizing with the master on account of the hard necessity which compels him to inflict the cruelty. Said Mr. S., I know these things, for I was brought up in a slave State, and for several years was a slaveholder myself.

Rev. T. A. Mills remarked, that the resolution states *the exact truth*. Not, to be sure, that the majority of slaveholders actually abuse the power committed to them, but, that from the nature of the case, those who are disposed, can inflict cruelty and suffering on their slaves, and that with impunity. I have known this by observation; and, that public sentiment is in such a state, that masters thus abusing their power, are not treated with contempt, but rather with complacency. I state these facts, because I have lived a long time in a slave State, and wish, by this testimony, so far as possible, to preclude the necessity of *detailing facts*, to prove the point. For the fact is, when you make a master *feel his responsibility* in this matter, he immediately *wishes to get clear of his slaves*. And I wish it to be held up before our brethren at the South, that the tendency and effect of the system of slavery is, to obliterate the feeling of responsibility; and in this way, I wish to lead them to abandon it. A fair and calm exhibition of the truth, will not enrage them; and in this way, we may further the designs we have in view, to benefit the slave.

Mr. Snead again rose, to testify further, that it was a well-known fact, that the rod was an indispensable part of the system; and that should he be again compelled to assume the relation of a master, he should just as much expect to use the rod, and be compelled to use it, as to provide food for his slaves. For when you reduce men to slaves, they must be used accordingly; and this is a cogent argument against the system. So, when you put the rod into the hands of men, under such a system, the fact is, they may whip a slave to death; and so far from being punished by law, or rebuked by public sentiment, they will even be pitied for the hard necessity, which compelled them to commit the deed. For my right hand, I would not again assume the responsibility of holding slaves; for I know the influence of the system on the conscience, and that I should be carried along with the current.

Mr. Black said the brother's case was an anomaly; and denied his assertions in reference to the influence of slavery. He asserted that in the punishment of slaves and whites for crime, the laws at the South made no difference!

Mr. Burgess alluded to the fact, that Mr. Thomas Morris had asserted, on the floor of Congress, that no white man had ever been capitally punished, for the murder of a slave. A gentleman from North Carolina denied it; but upon an examination of the facts, acknowledged to Mr. Morris that his assertion was correct.

Rev. Mr. Rankin said he had spent much time in the midst of slavery, and for a long time had lived on the borders of a slave State. He said that it was a startling truth, that, in all the families of slaveholders in which he was conversant, he only knew one or two, which had their slaves regularly attend family worship. The slaves are unwilling to attend, and the majority of masters do not compel attendance; and the reason is obvious. What slave, treated and abused as he is, wishes to worship with the one who treats him thus?

The Rev. Mr. Banks, of Louisville, (who is reported *to own slaves*,) briefly remarked, that *Christian slaveholders feel as much obligation and responsibility to teach their slaves to read the scriptures, as they do to teach their sons!!* That the laws of southern States protected the slave from abuse, and that these laws were rigidly executed!!

[It was not deemed proper, and perhaps not possible, to *disprove* such a strong assertion as this; so that those following did not even allude to Mr. Banks' interesting speech!]

Rev. Mr. Blanchard remarked: What if some have been driven, by this terrible system, to commit cruelty, as great as has been held up here? This is not slavery! But slavery embraces, as its fundamental principle, *the right of holding property in man*; and it is against this we contend. And as to "irresponsible masters," if many are found at the South, whose hearts are kind, I bless God for it; I care not how many merciful are found there; I bless God, that this terrible system has not banished all mercy from the human heart; yet ample testimony shows, that to all intents and purposes, masters at the South are entirely irresponsible.

The clause referred to, was finally amended, as it now stands in the report. The resolutions, I believe, were passed without any dissenting voice, except Mr. Black, who voted against almost every one. I have given the specimen of the debate above, to show in how *kind and Christian a manner it was generally conducted.*

In the afternoon, Mr. Blanchard proposed a resolution, to the effect, that young ministers going to slave States, should be urged to form churches on anti-slavery principles. This brought *forth some warm discussion, but was finally rejected.*

Communications.

SERMON BY THE REV. WILLIAM H. FURNESS, OF PHILADELPHIA.

I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say.—1 Cor. x. 15.

To-morrow's sun will dawn upon another anniversary of the Declaration of Independence; another commemoration of the day, when our fathers, in the face of personal danger and loss, distinctly and solemnly asserted, before all the world, the sacred and inalienable rights of man. It is hailed as the birthday of freedom. So important are the principles which it proclaims, so vast the concerns which it regards, and so beneficent have been, and must be, its results, that no one who loves his country or his race, can fail to recognize so interesting an anniversary. It may well move the most thoughtless to reflection. Accordingly, it has been made a day of universal rejoicing. It is set apart as the great festival of the nation.

If, in any way, or in any place, it deserves our especial notice, it is here, in this place, consecrated to the worship of the bountiful Giver of all our blessings, personal and social. And here, in the presence of Him whose service is perfect freedom, I ask your attention to some reflections appropriate to the present occasion. While I would utter nothing that I do not hold to be the sacred truth of God, I do most devoutly pray that I may speak, and you may hear, in the spirit of the day and the deed, about to be commemorated.

The anniversary of American Independence! Its approach brings home to my mind one fact, with an awful and irresistible emphasis. This soil, which we have consecrated over and over again to liberty, is pressed by the feet of millions of slaves. A great multitude of men, and tender women, and feeble children, are treated as beasts of burden, liable to be bought and sold, systematically defrauded of those dear rights, the sacred and inalienable gifts of God, which, in our own case, we are ready to defend, at all hazards, and for the maintenance of which, we, at this season, do honor to our fathers. Disguise the fact, keep it out of sight, excuse it to ourselves as we may, still it remains the same; and it glares upon us with every return of our national birthday. The youthful and beautiful genius of American liberty stands before the world, singing the anthem of the free, with her foot upon the neck of the slave, and leaning upon the rod of oppression, as the pillar of her strength.

Until within a very few years, the people of this land have almost universally celebrated our great anniversary, in utter unconsciousness of this shameful inconsistency. They appear to have been wholly insensible to the mockery of freedom, of which they have been guilty. I am willing to believe that we have not known what a spectacle we exhibit; for I remember that the very introduction of African slavery into this continent, which took place almost coincidently with its discovery, is due to the suggestions of a man of unquestionable philanthropy. Las Casas, the companion of Columbus, the disinterested protector of the aborigines, surnamed in history, the benevolent—he it was, who first proposed, in order to relieve the Indians from the oppression of the Spaniards, to bring over slaves from Africa.

We know, too, that upright and pious men have been engaged in the slave trade; that concentration of wickedness, and blood, and horror. Such was the celebrated John Newton, who followed the traffic in human flesh for two years after he was deeply impressed with a sense of religious obligation. With such instances on record of the blindness of human nature, I am willing to believe that our country, in the systematic and appalling violation of human rights, with which it has been chargeable, has sinned rather through ignorance, through a moral insensibility, than a deliberate and conscious depravity of the will. It is only a few months ago, that a meeting of some thousands was held in a distant southern city of this republic, to sympathize with unhappy Ireland; and I find the following reported in one of the newspapers of the place, as the remarks of one of the speakers on the occasion. "I have been asked," said he, "since I came into this house, 'what have we to do with the affairs of Ireland?' and I reply to the question, by asking, what had we to do with the affairs of Poland? with the affairs of Greece? or with the South American republics? I answer, we have this to do—the cause of liberty is outraged in Ireland; and *wherever it is assailed, it is the business of the freemen of America to fly to its protection.*" This sentiment was received with loud cheers. "Ask an American," he continued, "what he has to do, when such a cause is presented, and he will answer, that he *has* to do with it; that he will reply to the calls of the oppressed with his tongue, or, if necessary, with his right arm." This also called forth great and enthusiastic cheering. "Am I told," said the speaker, "when I see the traveller wounded on the wayside by robbers, I am not to turn and relieve him—that when I see the blood gushing from the open wound, I am not to stop and bind it up? Perish such philosophy! such reasoning! No! *wherever I find oppression, I will fly to the aid of the oppressed; with my tongue, with my arm, with my heart.*" Here again was great cheering. "And when I am asked," he resumed, "why I should affect to be the natural guardian of the oppressed, I answer that, as an American, born on this soil, which seems destined to be the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, I interpret its great destiny, and construe its sublime Constitution correctly, in asserting my readiness to stand up in behalf of the suffering sections of humanity; for *I believe my brother is not of one country, or of one climate, but the creature, the citizen of the world.* The heart will throw out its sensations, it will expand when touched by the appeal of the afflicted; and I have arisen, in obedience to its ungovernable impulse, to show that there are some natives of this soil, who dare to stand up and advocate the rights of humanity."* Great cheers followed these words. Now, my friends, does it not seem strange—unaccountable, that in that large assembly, there was not a single individual, to catch a glimpse of the application of these remarks, to what are termed the domestic institutions of the South, and send it home, in one burning word to the hearts of the rest, even though he perished on the spot for the act? And yet so it was. The speaker, and those who listened to him, appear to have been utterly unconscious that there was anything in this land, to which the sentiments he uttered bore any application. But this is but one instance, out of thousands, indicative of the insensibility which has pervaded the country in relation to slavery.

But the times of this ignorance are now passing away. Through the unwearied exertions of a few noble and disinterested men and women, who, for all our sakes, have cheerfully encountered toil, and obloquy, and violence, this subject, so solemnly interesting to us and to our children, has been brought fully up before the public eye and the public mind; and, in the course of events, it is becoming more and more clear, that we have, every one of us, a great personal duty to discharge, which cannot be neglected with impunity. Every day it is made plainer and plainer to us, what a deadly thing slavery is, how it weakens the strongest understanding, and corrupts the most generous heart, and palsies the noblest energies of our nature. It has tended to confound the most sacred distinctions, leading men to dispute the priceless worth of liberty. Do we not hear it urged again and again, in behalf of slavery, that the slaves are comfortable and happy? Happy slaves! It is a contradiction in terms. Or, if men are happy in bondage, then are they degraded, indeed, and slavery has wrought on them its last curse. To a free spirit what can be more abject than a man who is contented in his chains. To our fathers, the faintest shadow of oppression was as galling as a chain of adamant; and they could more easily die than endure it. We may discern the dangerous influence of slavery in another form. They who have so manfully denounced it as a violation of the law of right and of God, have been charged with aiming to excite insurrection. But there has not arisen a whisper of insurrection, traceable to their influence. Property has been destroyed. But it was the property of the advocates of freedom. Blood has been spilt. But it was the blood of those who sought the peaceable abolition of slavery; and whose influence naturally tended to keep those suffering under bondage, patient and quiet. Silence the voice of freedom, pleading for the oppressed; and then, if ever, when the slave knows that there is no one to speak for him, he may be tempted to take his cause into his own hands. But as it is, all the violence that we have witnessed, has been on the part of those who have defended slavery; not of those who have assailed it.

Once more. We have seen the spirit of slavery in our national councils. It has betrayed itself there, in its true character. It has there peremptorily demanded for its security, the sacrifice of our plainest rights; and it has shown that it cannot exist at the South, unless it exerts an insufferable control over the North. It denies to northern freemen what the veriest slave of despotism is allowed—the right of petition, of prayer. It insists upon the surrender of the liberty of speech, the suppression of our free thoughts. This evil spirit has sought also to cast indignities upon the venerable head of one, the very mirror of official fidelity, whose life has been given to the service of the country. But, thanks be to God! the indomitable valor of our fathers survives in that accomplished man; and the service which he has rendered by his loyalty to freedom, deserves to be enrolled with their achievements. We have seen in other and startling instances, the spirit and the letter of the Constitution violated by slavery; and it is now abundantly plain, that southern slavery and northern freedom are utterly incompatible. The one or the other must give way.

In addition to all this, we may see how slavery has corrupted the public sentiment of the North, quenched the holy enthusiasm of liberty, and made those who say that we have nothing to do with slavery, enemies of the freedom of speech, and but lukewarm friends, at best, of the right of petition. All these things have shown us, as in a glass, the features and character of this great national sin. We cannot now plead ignorance. We cannot overlook the fact of the existence of slavery. It has made itself to be distinctly seen and deeply felt. We cannot say that we have nothing to do with that which has so much to do with us; with the Constitution under which we live, with our dearest rights, with our principles and judgments. It is true, we have no slaves. But we are in danger of becoming slaves ourselves. It is ourselves that are to be emancipated from bondage; and a far more odious bondage, than that which led to the Declaration of Independence. The hand of the oppressor is to be kept off from our own persons.

Slavery is not, by any means, the only evil which now afflicts our country. Our natural blessings are abundant beyond description. Still, inactivity, embarrassment, and distress, widely prevail. Of the causes of this state of things, I need not speak. They lie deeper than political parties, or legislative measures. But with reference to a remedy, this I do say, and most fully believe—that the greatest blessing that could be conferred upon this country, would be a new devotion to liberty, kindled in the hearts of the people. Slavery is a terrible curse; but, were we only so disposed, it might be made the occasion of indescribable good. Here are millions of wretched, ignorant, degraded beings, to be set free, enlightened, and fitted for a higher life. A grand office of justice and humanity is offered to the nation. The providence of God summons us to it. How glorious would be its accomplishment! Whereas, now the existence of slavery destroys the force of our example, how would the light of this nation flame across the earth, were there no longer a single slave on our soil! But the ennobling effect would be upon ourselves.

Nothing so regenerates a man, as the being interested in a righteous cause, in a generous office. Our aims have been selfish and mercenary; money, place, and ease. To these, the heart of this land has been given; and the existing distress is the inevitable result. It is the appetite for acquisition, stimulated to excess, that, amidst the profusion of nature, has prostrated our country; and we cannot be benefited by measures which will stimulate that appetite again, and again produce a spasm of strength, a paroxysm of prosperity. The mind of this people must be turned to quite new objects. We must be baptized into the spirit of freedom, of humanity. We must learn to seek our glory and our life, not in accumulating, each for himself; but in doing good, in asserting the claims of the oppressed, and in studying, in all lawful ways, to serve the cause of justice and mercy. Yes, zeal in diffusing the blessings of freedom, in the abolition of slavery; this is one of the great means of reviving our national prosperity. Here is an aim that will exalt the character of this people. Thus may we

"Redeem
Our banished honors, and restore ourselves
Into the good thoughts of the world again."

With these convictions, I must needs differ wholly from those, who, while they deplore the curse of slavery, and acknowledge that it ought to be done away, yet maintain that the present is not the time to agitate the subject. The time for it will never come, so long as the world stands, if we are waiting for an opportunity to abolish slavery without a struggle, without an excitement of the public mind. Prejudice, and self-interest, and the pride of opinion, and a host of evil passions, will seek to confound the light, and break the force of truth. It is idle to wait for a calm, for a state of things which cannot be. Now is the accepted time; now, now.

Our hearts, corrupted by selfish pursuits, need the cleansing inspiration of just and generous sentiments. For the cultivation of these sentiments, what opportunities have we, in the present position of things. Are we men, human beings, and not stocks and stones; and can we contemplate with frigid indifference the fact, that millions, here within the boundaries of our land, are languishing in a bondage, to which we cannot suppose ourselves reduced, with our wives and children, without perfect horror? Is there no appeal here to our simple human beings? Or, if these things touch us not, then may we well be aroused to the defense of our own rights, put in imminent peril by the continuance of slavery on this soil. Here, then, I repeat, in the present condition of things, we are summoned to cherish the spirit of humanity and freedom, which is so necessary to the regeneration of our country—to its deliverance from its present embarrassment and gloom. The present is not the time for the agitation of this subject! It is the best of all times. There is no time for duty but the present. We need to be brought into the communion of great principles. We need to have a generous spirit kindled in our bosoms. And where shall we find great principles and a generous spirit, if not in a matter involving the rights and welfare of millions of our fellow-men?

But how can we abolish slavery? We have no right, even by legislation, to interfere with the slave States. My friends, if the silence of the North is the security of slavery, as so many recent events do most significantly intimate; if its existence by free speech and free thoughts, by "that wing of words which agitates the nations;" then, in the holy name of freedom, let us think and speak freely. I do not wish to see a single slave liberated by force, physical or legislative. I ask only that you may use your rightful freedom of thought and speech. Only let the truth be spoken, and it will make the whole world free. I ask for no emancipation but that which is the voluntary, conscientious action of the slaveholders themselves.

At present, the whole administration of our national government leans to the side of slavery; and the Constitution, the charter of our liberties, is thrown as a shield over the grey iniquity. Every man is excluded from our executive counsels, and almost from the public service, who is known to desire the abolition of slavery. Do we want plainer evidence that the spirit of slavery, and not of freedom, reigns in the land, and beyond the borders of the slave States? Now, I say that public sentiment, beginning here among us, must take directly the opposite direction; and every one of us is bound to contribute whatever of influence we possess, to the cause of liberty. As surely as the sun shines there in the heavens, the names of those, now so obnoxious, who have sought to rouse the moral sense of this people, the leading abolitionists, will be enrolled with the immortal names of the great friends of mankind. We owe this duty, then, to freedom, not to treat her most faithful servants with contempt and distrust; not to magnify their imprudence, nor to deride their zeal. When we are disposed to believe no evil of the oppressors, and all evil of the oppressed and the friends of the oppressed, then are we corrupted by the spirit of slavery. Here is the great service to be rendered to liberty by the people of the North. If we loathed injustice and oppression as they ought to be loathed by freemen; if we were quick to feel for the oppressed; if our words, our opinions, our judgments, were controlled by our love for freedom, and our hatred of slavery; in a word, if the spirit of abolition were spread through the North, how soon would all chains be broken—broken, not by force, not by any unauthorized legislation, but by the South itself, encouraged and inspired by the free spirit of the North! The spirit of liberty could not dwell *here* in any strength, without making itself felt *there*. As it is, to our shame be it spoken, it is slavery at the South, which is conquering freedom at the North. This influence, I say, must be reversed. It must tend directly the other way; and it rests with us, personally, to accomplish this change. Much has been done, within a few years past, to open our eyes, to touch our hearts; but the work is far from finished. There are prejudices to be conquered, indifferences to be done away, and just and generous ways of thought and feelings to be formed. And to this end we are bound, first of all, to encourage discussion, to promote the diffusion of information. Certainly we do nothing for freedom, if we discountenance the free expression of opinion; if we are afraid of the subject, and the excitement it may occasion. It is utterly absurd to look for the overthrow of this disgraceful and ruinous wrong, except through the awakened attention of the whole intellect, and heart, and conscience of the country. To doubt that it *can* be overthrown, is to deny the providence of God. It must go down. But then, the will of man is the great instrument prepared for its destruction, and the whole strength of man must be thrown into the effort. It is for us all to pronounce the doom of slavery.

Finally, my friends, if we would not insult the great birthday of our nation, and the memories of the illustrious dead, let us not boast of our privileges and rights, while we utter not a word in behalf of those to whom these privileges are denied; in whom these dear rights are outraged, and humanity defamed and degraded. But let the day of our national freedom bear witness to the birth of a freer and holier spirit in our hearts. If we have never felt as we ought to have done, for those who are consigned to hopeless bondage, who are made to be the instruments of the will of another, let us, at this season, ponder their conditions, and bare our hearts to the iron which enters into their souls. When we have once done this; when you have once considered what a wretched thing it is to be a slave, you cannot, as good-hearted, humane men, consent that, by any indifference or neglect of yours, this dark and miserable condition of slavery should be prolonged a moment. We have only to resolve that we will be free ourselves; that neither our lips nor our hearts shall be sealed; that we will cherish our sense of justice, have feelings of humanity, and give them all lawful expression—this only has the North to do, and the curse and the shame of oppression will vanish from our land forever, and all its inhabitants shall rejoice in the gifts of God. Then will there be *union* indeed. Then shall his land become the joy of all lands, the glory of the whole earth. God send the day; may its dawn break in our hearts!

* See an account of a "Great meeting to sympathize with Ireland," quoted in the Liberator of April 1, 1842, from the *New Orleans Jeffersonian.*

ADDRESS,

To the New-York Association of Friends, for the Relief and Improvement of the People of Color.

Dear Friends:—Your epistle, addressed to "Friends generally," dated the 7th of 2d month last, developing a statement of the deep trials you are subject to, on account of your efforts in behalf of suffering humanity, has excited in our minds sensations of painful interest. Being deeply impressed with the awfulness of the sin of slavery, its devastating influence upon the Church and the world, and being members of the religious Society of Friends, which, in 1740, tolerated its members in trafficking in human beings, but, by the uncompromising efforts of some of its faithful members, was happily enabled, through much suffering, to set at liberty them that were bound, and to incorporate in its discipline an emphatic appeal in behalf of our fellow-men in slavery, and enjoined that a testimony should be borne against the system.

That any department of this body, after having achieved such glorious results, should retrograde, or cast stumbling blocks in the way of the mass of mind now coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, cannot but occasion lamentation and anguish of spirit, with the livingly concerned among us.

That distinguished servant of Jesus Christ, John Woolman, remarks, that in the Yearly meeting of Philadelphia, in 1758, though none openly justified the practice of slave keeping in general, yet some appeared concerned lest the meeting should go into such measures as might give uneasiness to many brethren; alledging that if Friends patiently continued under the exercise, the Lord, in *time to come*, might open a way for the deliverance of this people; and being himself constrained to speak, observed, "It is not a time for *delay*." Should we *now* be sensible of what He required of us, and through respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships which do not stand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in constancy and firmness, still *waiting* for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, it may be that God may answer us in this matter by terrible things in righteousness."

We salute you, with desire that you may rely upon Divine counsel, and persevere in the maintenance of righteous principles; though it be through much suffering, amidst painfulness and weariness, and perils many. Despair not; greater is He that is in us, than he that is in the world.

With a salutation of love unfeigned, we are your, sympathising friends—

Greene Plain, Clark county, Ohio, 5th month, 1842.

Sarah B. Dugdale,	Elizabeth B. Farr,
Elizabeth L. Borton,	Asenath F. Farr,
Celia Anderson,	Jane Farr,
Eliza Swayne,	Sarah A. Dugdale,
Sarah Michener,	Richard Wright,
Hannah Ingram,	William Thorn,
Asenath Frame,	James Anderson, Jr.
Benjamin Michener,	James Frame,
Isaac Richardson,	William Gummere,
Thomas Swayne,	Joseph Mormon,
Horton Brown,	Robert Ingram,
David Kester,	George Hayward,
Levi Townsend,	Ellwood Borton,
Angelina Farr,	Thomas Borton,
James Anderson,	John Dugdale,
Ruth Dugdale,	Charles R. Dugdale,
Honor Gummere,	Aaron Borton,
Sabina T. M'Lonnell,	Isaac B. Swayne,
Phebe Gummere,	Joseph A. Dugdale,
Mary J. Newcomb,	Jonathan Pierce,
Lydia Michener,	William Hayward,
Mary J. Wright,	Stephen Kester,
Leah Farr,	John Shaw,
Maria Swayne,	Swithen Gummere,
Rachel Wright,	John Gummere,
Elizabeth A. Borton,	C. F. Farr,
Mary Ann Hayward,	James Farr,
Ann Kester,	Thomas Shaw,

Reply of the Acting Committee of the New-York Association of Friends, for the Relief of those held in Slavery, and the Improvement of the People of Color, to a communication, dated Greene Plain, Clark county, Ohio, 5th month, 1842; addressed to the Association by Benjamin Michener, Isaac Richardson, Thomas Swayne, Sarah B. Dugdale, Elizabeth L. Borton, Celia Anderson, and fifty other men and women Friends:

Beloved Brethren and Sisters;

Your address was duly received by us, as well as one issued a short time previous, by an association similar to our own, in Philadelphia; both expressive of the unity of those bodies with our labors, and their sympathy in our trials. The meeting in Philadelphia here spoken of, we are informed, was held in Green street meeting-house, and was attended by more than one thousand Friends. With these evidences before us, and the smiles on our labors of Him, whose eye of tender compassion is over the oppressed, let us be encouraged. That the defection, as respects our testimony against slavery, has indeed been lamentable in the religious Society of Friends, there are too many proofs. Our members being men of like passions with others, like causes have produced on them similar effects. Yet as many appear to have sincerely believed that the efforts of abolitionists have impeded the work they have aimed to accomplish, let us be tender of the feelings of such; although, on the great scale, we cannot sanction their views. We assuredly believe that the Divine hand is powerfully operating for the deliverance of this people, on minds more or less prepared to yield to its influence, even if they do not fully recognize its power and guidance. We seem especially called upon to cultivate, on our part, this tenderness of feeling; and we deem it compatible with the firmest support of our testimony against slavery.

Among those in our religious society, who do not see with us, eye to eye, there are many upright, feeling minds; and although we deeply regret the position they occupy on this question, and feel bound to use great plainness of speech, let us yield to them the indulgence we claim for ourselves; viz: That each be at liberty, uncondemned by his brother, to fulfill the work he believes to be assigned him. The great architect has various instruments, and as various services for them to perform; but they cannot, we conceive, employ themselves in destroying each other's labors, and be, at the same time, fulfilling His commands.

We have seen no sufficient cause for abolitionists either to withdraw from our religious society, *individually*, in despair of its regeneration, or *collectively* to look towards a separation. Let all be invited to mutual forbearance. Love is a powerfully reconciling principle! What is there too hard for it to achieve? Let us live and breathe in no other atmosphere; then, whether *others* imbibe its influence, or not, we shall be preserved.

In that love we remain your friends,

Signed by direction, and on behalf, of a meeting of the acting committee, held in New-York, the 5th of 7th month, 1842.

CHARLES MARRIOTT, } *Clerks,*
MARY N. BEALE, }

P. S. Isaac T. Hopper and Charles Marriott, notwithstanding the position in which they were placed, were recently permitted to attend the Yearly meeting of Genessee, and met with great kindness and attention, from Friends generally.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 21, 1842.

FOLLOW THE NORTH STAR.

Star of the North! though night-winds drift
The fleecy drapery of the sky,
Between thy lamp and me, I lift,
Yea, lift with hope, my sleepless eye
To the blue heights wherein thou dwellest,
And of a land of freedom tellest.

Star of the North! while blazing day
Pours round me its full tide of light,
And hides thy pale, but faithful ray,
I, too, lie hid, and long for night:
For night;—I dare not walk at noon,
Nor dare I trust the faithless moon.—*Pierpont.*

A few years ago, I met with a very intelligent yellow man, who, in the course of conversation, revealed to me the following history. I will call him Robert Lee; though that neither was, nor is, his name. I did not ask permission to publish what he told me; and I think it best to assume some disguise, lest I should be the cause of bringing him into embarrassing circumstances.

He was born in Maryland; and his master was his father. The indulgence accorded to him was very great. "No child," said he, "need to have his animal wants more completely satisfied. I fared, in all respects, as well as my white brothers. I might even have had both sides of my bread buttered, if I had chosen. The only troubles I encountered during my youthful days, occurred when my father was absent from home. His wife hated me and my mother; and when he was gone, was sure to find some pretext for having us punished. Emboldened by indulgence, I complained to him as soon as he returned; and at last, he always took the precaution to send us to a distant part of the plantation, whenever it was necessary for him to leave home."

The white son and the colored son thus grew up side by side, and were usually on the best of terms, when the spontaneous kindliness of childhood was not turned out of its natural course, by some interference from the white mother. The slave mother died while Robert was yet a boy; and as he grew older, he of course felt more sensibly the evils of his condition. His father, like many southerners, tried to reconcile the claims of interest, conscience, and natural affection, by treating him with unusual indulgence; a process which unnerved the poor boy for future hardships, while it satisfied his own amiable feelings. It is this conflict between true instincts and a false institution, which so rapidly raises up a free colored population in all slaveholding States; a population so obviously dangerous to the safety of the institution, that the false wheedling of colonization must be combined with the utmost severity of law, to coax and drive them to die by thousands, on a foreign shore.

When Robert was thirteen or fourteen, he was let out to perform the light service of waiter to a wealthy lady. It is probable his father took this course, to avoid the consequences of his wife's aversion to the child, while he satisfied his own paternal repugnance to placing him at hard labor, among the field slaves. The lady to whose service he was transferred for a few years, required him to sleep on the floor, by the bedside of herself and husband; a practice very common in slaveholding countries. When some one, unused to the patriarchal system, alluded to the inconvenience of having so large a boy for her personal attendant, she replied, in a tone of surprise, "Good heavens! what should I do, if I wanted a glass of water in the night, and no servant near to bring it?"

Robert remained in this family till he was seventeen years old; during all which time, he slept by the bedside of his master and mistress. Betsy, the colored chambermaid, slept in a small room adjoining, and was sometimes called up to wait on her mistress. It was the master's frequent practice, to pay her a visit at midnight; and when he rose and left his chamber, both his wife and Robert would have been perfectly aware of his purpose, even if his footsteps and voice had not been distinctly audible, through the thin partition. Robert said the careless familiarity with which young colored waiters were treated, was perfectly surprising; and could exist only in a community where they were habitually regarded as *animals*. He was summoned at all hours and seasons; and neither the lady nor her daughters paid any more attention to his entrance into their chambers, than if he had been a favorite dog. This thoughtless disregard of modesty, combined with the shocking impurity that always characterizes the condition of slaves, rendered the influences of parlor and kitchen alike demoralizing. Almost every slave, from the very necessity of his or her condition, must become early licentious. If the whole structure of the patriarchal system were contrived on purpose for this one result, it could not more completely effect its object. And when law, opinion, and social customs, all name, consider, treat, and use human beings as the beasts that perish, the unavoidable fact, that they become like animals, is urged as a reason for continuing the accursed system!

Though Robert, like others, became the victim of a slave education, in many respects, he was by nature too intelligent and manly to remain satisfied with his condition and prospects. In compliance with his entreaties, his father sent him to learn the trade of painter and glazier; assuring him, at the same time, that if he learned his trade well, he would give him some money when he was twenty-one years of age, and send him to the North, to establish himself as a freeman. Cheered by this prospect, he exerted himself with all diligence, and soon obtained the reputation of a very capable and skillful mechanic.

Before he was twenty years old, his father died, after a very brief and severe illness. Being from home, he was unaware of his sickness, till he heard of his death. An old colored nurse, who attended upon him, told Robert that his father begged to see him; but his wife and her son put him off from time to time, and would not allow any messenger to be sent. A few hours before he died, he grew very restless, and eager for his arrival; often repeating, "Don't forget that Robert is free, and is to be sent to the North to pursue his trade."

By a fatal, but not unusual carelessness, he had omitted making a will; and now trusted to verbal directions for the disposal of his property. Poor Robert's grief was, however, unmixed with any forebodings concerning his own future lot. It never entered his mind to doubt that his father's oft-repeated promises and dying wishes

that you know, as well as I do; for our father never made any secret of it."

"You are my slave," rejoined the other; "and it will be well for you to learn the manners proper for your station."

"Our father has always told me I was free; and that he would give me some money to set me up in business in the free States; and when he was dying, he charged you to remember that I was a free man."

"Prove it," replied the elder brother, in the sneering tone of conscious power.

Alas, how *could* the unfortunate youth prove his father's openly avowed intentions? The only white persons who knew the fact, had an interest to conceal it; and the colored nurse, who had heard his dying injunctions, would not be allowed to testify, on account of her complexion. Under these depressing circumstances, Robert became melancholy and listless. The mainspring was broken, and the hands would not move. Hour after hour, he would sit leaning his head on his hand. The ringing laughter of his cheerful heart was hushed. He no longer leaped forth into the morning air, with a jump and a bound, as he had been wont to do; but if driven to his work, he went forth with reluctance, as if the weight of his feet were a burden.

His older brother could not fail to observe the change. He reproached and threatened, to no purpose. The soul was stunned and stupefied, and it could not move. He wrote to his father's brother, complaining that Robert was very lazy, and morose; that he had been spoiled by foolish indulgence, and needed a little wholesome discipline to make him a good slave. He concluded, by urging his uncle to take him for a year, and see what he could do with him.

His uncle answered, with some degree of indignation, that it was a shame to make a slave of a lad so enterprising and intelligent; one who was his own brother, and knew it, too; especially, as their father had always declared his intention to establish him in business, as a free man; that, such being the case, it would be the best policy to let him go; for he would never be of any value as a slave.

Disappointed in this quarter, the young master applied to a widowed aunt, who carried on a large plantation. She agreed with her nephew, that Robert had been treated with culpable indulgence, and that he ought to be made to know his place. She said she had a very vigilant overseer, who, she thought, would reduce him to obedience in a few months; and as it was better for a stranger to undertake this task, than his own brother, she would hire him for awhile, on trial; but if she found him hopelessly refractory, she must return him.

At the end of three months, Robert was sent back, scarred with the whip, but more heavy and listless than ever. His aunt stated that she could do nothing with him; he was not violent, but hopelessly stupid and lazy; that the sight of one on whom discipline produced no effect, was a very bad example for the other slaves, and she would not venture to keep him.

A conversation then took place between the brothers, the substance of which, as nearly as I can recollect, was as follows:

"Robert, why will you be so ungrateful and so unreasonable? You know you can earn a very handsome sum every week, if you only have a mind to do it."

"I should have a mind, if I were allowed to have my own earnings. If you will not give me the money father promised, I at least have a right to my own labor; and you know that, James, as well as I do."

"Call me master, you insolent puppy! Don't let me hear James, or brother, again out of your mouth. How the devil do you know whose son you are? If your mother could tell, she was a lucky wench. It is your business to forget past nonsense, and do your duty as my slave."

For a moment, Robert's cheeks burned, and the instinct was strong, to strike his brother to the earth; but nature had endowed him largely with caution, and the rising arm was restrained. He simply answered, "I never will submit to be a slave."

"It is your wisest course, let me tell you, sir. I give you three weeks to recover the use of your faculties: and if, by that time, you do not bring me home the sum I require, I shall hand you over to the Georgia traders." He walked away; but turned back, to add, in a milder and more expostulating tone, "This conduct is very ungrateful in you, Robert. You have been brought up most indulgently; you had everything you wanted, and much more than was good for you, while your old master was alive; and I, for my part, am willing to do everything that is just and reasonable. I will feed and clothe you well; and if you will do as well as you can, I promise that you shall never be sold. Your present course of conduct is very unreasonable, as well as ungrateful."

"If I have had a bringing up, so have you," muttered Robert: "It is more reasonable to give me half your property, than it is for me to give you my earnings. If father could rise from the dead, what do you think he would say to you, James?"

"You good-for-nothing Ishmael, call me James again, will you?" said the elder brother, doubling up his fist.

"Don't *strike* me!" exclaimed the bondman, with a thrilling tone, and a look of stern defiance.

Awed, in spite of his assumed superiority, the white brother turned away, merely saying, "Remember what I have promised."

Before the three weeks had expired, a hard-looking stranger was seen closeted with the young master, and he afterward took occasion to scrutinize Robert pretty closely. A Georgia trader was in the neighborhood, making up a coffle for the southwestern market. Robert's imagination became impressed with the idea that this was the very man, and that he was about to purchase him. This was the first thing, after his father's death, that had power to rouse him from his gloomy stupefaction. Until now, there had, perhaps, been an undefined hope that his brother would relent at last; but now, "Farewell hope—and with hope, farewell fear!" All his natural energies were now concentrated on plans of escape; but he was closely watched, and it was by no means easy. At last, he contrived to let himself down from his window, a little past midnight; and early the next morning, he was on board a vessel, steering northward. His complexion was very light; his clothes, a present from his father, gave him a very genteel appearance; he had money enough to pay his passage; and the captain, either from thoughtlessness, or a friendly willingness to remain ignorant, asked no questions about free papers. As the ship moved on, and the land of captivity receded from his view, the young man felt his buoyancy of spirit return. He was like a cart-horse let loose in the pasture, and hardly knew what to do with the superabounding vigor that danced along his veins. The farther he came north, the stronger grew this joyful sense of freedom. At last, he entered Boston harbor, his soul full of plans for the future, his eye charmed with the cheerful beauty of earth, sea, and sky.

At Fort Independence, (alas! for the desecrated name,) the vessel was hailed, and an officer came on board, to search for a runaway slave! His brother had traced him to the vessel, in which he escaped, and a letter describing his appearance, preceded him. This was some sixteen years ago, when no anti-slavery societies, and no vigilance committees, were on the watch, to aid the slave in eluding his pursuers. Poor Robert was chained, hand and foot, and sent back in a Baltimore vessel. This blow fell upon him with even more severity than his father's death. In common with most of the colored people at the South, he was ignorant of the terms of our "*glorious Union*;" he had heard the North called *free*, and he naturally supposed that whosoever trod her soil, was a freeman. It had never entered his head, that he could possibly be seized as a slave, in the *free* States; and the disappointment for a time completely overpowered him.

When he reached home, his brother renewed his promises to feed and clothe him well, if he would only be "*reasonable*;" and threatened immediate sale to the slave traders, "if he showed any more sulks." Feeling that he was indeed more completely in his master's power than he had ever dreamed of, dreading the Southwest worse than death, and dimly hoping to lay by enough to buy his freedom, before he should become a very old man, he at last resolved to make the best of his lot. He went to work diligently, and his brother took his earnings. One day, while engaged in finishing a house, he happened to be at work with a free colored carpenter; one of that inconvenient class, which the colonization society kindly offers to ship out of the way of southern masters, if the North will help to furnish the cash.

The carpenter looked round cautiously, as he stooped to pick up a chisel, and said, "Do you want to be free? Speak low."

"There's no use in wishing. I tried it once; and liked to have got into the jaws of the Georgia alligators for my pains."

"Try again," said the carpenter: "I have helped off many a lad, and will help you off, if you will follow my directions. There's no sense in such a smart chap's being a slave. Don't talk to me about it now; but meet me, at one o'clock at night, at the big oak, where two roads meet, not far from my house."

They pursued their work without further conversation; and none suspected the hopes rekindled in the mind of the slave painter. At parting, the carpenter merely said, "The big oak;" and Robert nodded his head in reply.

The intervening hours seemed very dilatory; but at last he was on his way to the trysting-place of freedom, avoiding the public road, and hiding behind trees or fences, at every noise. The carpenter was true to his appointment. His plan was distinctly defined, and the route carefully marked out. "Wait till there is a full moon," said he; "then come to this tree again, by a round-about path. Bring two suits of clothes on your body, and as much provision and money as you can get without exciting suspicion. Be very obliging to your master; but take care not to be more polite than common; if you are, he will think there is something in the wind. I will be on the watch for you, on such a night, unless it storms."

The night came; names and places were repeated again and again; and all necessary directions carefully impressed on the traveller's memory. His benefactor then shook him by the hand, with a hearty "God bless you," and disappeared; leaving him alone, in the midnight stillness. For a moment, he looked around the wide horizon, with a farewell sorrow for the home of his childhood; then plunging into a neighboring wood, he walked on at his swiftest pace. As the carpenter had told him, this secluded path brought him, at morning twilight, to a stone-colored farm-house, with a slight mark on one of the door-posts. According to direction, he knocked at the front door; and when a head appeared, at the window above, inquiring, "What is thy wish, friend?" he answered, "Is this the wanderer's home?"

Never was the pass-word more quickly recognized by a watchful sentinel. The bolt flew back, with a hearty "Walk in, friend, and rest thyself."

Here the fugitive remained concealed through the day. At night, refreshed with rest and food, he started on his journey. The old farmer took him to the door. "Dost thou know the North star, friend?" said he. "I think I do." "Let me be *sure* thou knowest it. Thou seest those stars there, that look like a dipper, with a handle? Count them; remember the shape. The star that forms the upper point of the square dipper, always points to a very bright star; and that star is the North star. Let me hear you count the stars of the dipper. Men call it the Great Bear; but thou wilt know it best as the dipper."

Having repeated his lesson several times, the good old man bade him farewell; and the last words he heard him speak were, "Tell them who sent thee; and follow the North star, friend."

Another night of rapid walking brought him to the place, to which his host had directed him. In answer to inquiries, he replied, "I come from the wanderer's home. —— sent me." Again he heard the cordial, "Walk in, friend, and rest thyself;" and when he parted at night, comforted and refreshed, the last words that fell on his ear, were, "Follow the North star, friend."

A third, and a fourth time, he arrived at a "wanderer's home;" and the parting words ever were, "Follow the North star, friend."

"God knows I *remember* every one of their names; but I never will repeat them, lest they should be brought into trouble," said he, when he told me his adventures, some fourteen years afterward. "You cannot imagine how it impressed me, to hear those words so often repeated, as I set out on my night wanderings," said he. "That star came to seem to me a very holy thing. I thought it was like the eye of God. It looked pleasant, and yet it made me afraid. Even now, there is something strange about that star; it does not look to me like the other stars."

At the last asylum, Robert engaged to work for six months. His ambition was excited by the example of the farmer's sons, and he wished to attend an evening school with them. To his surprise, he was excluded on account of his complexion. "Is the curse of Cain upon me?" thought he. "Shall I never be a *free* man?" The farmer, seeing how much he took the disappointment to heart, volunteered to teach him to write, while his sons taught him arithmetic. He already knew how to read tolerably well; and he improved himself by reading aloud, during winter's evenings, to the women of the family. The appetite grew by what it fed on. Instructive and entertaining books were to him a new pleasure, with which he could not be easily satisfied. The consciousness of obstacles in his path, added fresh stimulus to the charm of novelty. He was bent upon laying up money, to "get an education," as the phrase is. The best part of education he had already obtained—in early disappointments, conquered difficulties, the active employment of his energies, and the solemn thoughts that came to him in the midnight shadows of the woods. But he did not *know* that these were education; few, even of the wisest, recognize them as such.

After working industriously for two or three years, he tried to gain access to some college, or seminary of learning. Poor fellow! he met with a succession of mortifications, that almost unnerved him; but, at last, after many failures, he was admitted into some small theological school, the name of which I have forgotten. He is now a preacher.

I told this story, one evening, to Mr. Pierpont; and the next day, he offered for the Liberty Bell those beautiful and spirited lines, beginning, "Star of the North!" two verses of which stand at the head of this story.—L. M. C.

HENRY CLAY.

The banners of the Whig party are going up in all directions, bearing the inscription, "Henry Clay, for President of the United States." Great festivals are held, and prodigious speeches made, and profuse editorial flattery offered to this Clay image.

We are told that "he has always been the *friend* of the honest *laborer*; the champion of *domestic industry*; the advocate of *equal rights*; and that in every clime his voice has been heard, and his thunders felt, in the cause of civil and religious *liberty*."

Our friend, James Cannings Fuller, visited Ashland, when he travelled south to redeem Mrs. Gerrit Smith's slaves. The following account from his pen will show abolitionists what claim Henry Clay has upon the votes of consistent freemen. "The advocate of equal rights," indeed! the unblushing slaveholder! Here is a picture of the "*friend* of the honest *laborer*":

Having a great desire to see the imported cattle on Henry Clay's plantation, I went thither. On approaching the house, I saw a colored man, to whom I said, "Where wert thou raised?" "In Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there?" "Yes." "Wilt thou show me his improved cattle?" He pointed to the orchard, and said the man who had charge of them was there. As I followed his direction, I encountered a very intelligent-looking boy, apparently eight or nine years old. I said to him, canst thou read?" "No." "Is there a school for colored people on Henry Clay's plantation?" No." "How old art thou?" "Don't know." In the orchard I found a woman at work with her needle I asked, "How old art thou?" "A big fifty." How old is that?" "Near sixty." "How many children hast thou?" "Fifteen or sixteen." "Where are they?" "Colored folks don't know where their children is; they are sent all over the country."—"Where wert thou raised?" "Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there?" "Yes." "How many children hadst thou then?" "Four." "Where are they?" "I don't know. They tell me they are dead." The hut, in which this "*source of wealth*" lives, was neither as good, nor as well-floored as my stable. Several slaves were picking fruit in the orchard; I asked one of the young men whether they were taught to read on this plantation, and they answered no. I found the overseer of the cattle with a short-handled, stout whip, which had been broken. He said it answered both for a riding whip, and occasionally "to wipe off" the slaves.

These glances at Ashland reveal much concerning our mutual friend Joseph John Gurney's "dear friend," Henry Clay! The man who boasts that every pulsation of his heart beats high for liberty;" yet is not ashamed to buy men and women at the capitol! that place, which above all others, ought not to be cursed by footsteps of a slave. Yet I fear there are not wanting in the abolition ranks men so wedded to political party that they may be tempted to vote for Henry Clay; serving their party and themselves thereby, and perchance thinking they serve their country.

Do not think Clay a sinner above all other men. His slaves appeared to be well fed and well clothed. Indeed the general superiority of condition in Kentucky slaves, over those of Maryland and Virginia, cannot fail to strike the most superficial observer.

Pursuing my journey, I came to Blue Lick, whose waters are celebrated throughout the United States. At the spring I found several men, white and colored. I asked if I could have a drink. A white man said the waters were free to all. I asked, "Will they make all free?" They again replied, that the spring was free to all. "I perceive thou dost not understand my question," said I. But the countenances of the colored men brightened, and with a cheerful tone, they answered, significantly, "*We* know what you mean."

Sometime ago, in a speech on the Loan Bill, Mr. Clay remarked that "for twenty or thirty years, neither he nor his wife had owed any man a dollar. Both of them, many years gone by, had come to the conclusion, that the best principle of economy was never to get into debt. To indulge your wants when you are able to do so, and to repress them when you are not able to indulge them." This declaration was much applauded: as it deserved to be, if true. The *Northampton Courier* remarks upon it thus:

I believe Mr. Clay to be a frank, open-hearted man, who would scorn to knowingly tell a falsehood. Still, I must think him, in the present instance, very much mistaken. He owns a plantation near Lexington, Ky., which he carries on with the labor of about fifty slaves. He has kept this number at work for the past twenty, and perhaps forty years, and has not paid them their wages. Estimating the labor of each hand to be worth $100 per annum, that of the whole would be $5,000. This, in twenty years, would be $100,000. I have not computed the annual interest, but presume it amounts to another $100,000. Here then we have two hundred thousand dollars due from Henry Clay to his laborers for their service during the last twenty years.

Of the amount of Mr. Clay's property, I cannot give a very accurate estimate. A neighbour of mine, who called upon him sometime since, says he has large and beautiful woodland pastures, and a very valuable stock of cattle. He also holds by a title, I should not consider very good, fifty men and women. I should doubt whether all his property, real and personal, would sell in these hard times, for $200,000. If not, then Mr. Clay owes his laborers, for their services the past twenty years, more than he is worth. And with all my respect for his talents and patriotism, I must think him the wrong one to say, "he owes no man a dollar."

In addition to these claims on the confidence and respect of abolitionists, we must not forget that he is President of the Colonization Society, and its most efficient friend and patron. He made the first Colonization speech ever delivered; in the course of which he exclaimed, "can there be a nobler cause than that which, while it proposes to rid our own country of a *useless* and *pernicious*, if not a *dangerous* portion of its population, contemplates the spreading of the acts of civilized life, and the possible redemption from ignorance and barbarism of a benighted quarter of the globe." In this speech, he declares: "It is not proposed to deliberate upon, or consider at all *any question of emancipation*; or any that is *connected* with the abolition of slavery. On this condition alone, gentlemen from the South and West can be expected to co-operate. *On this condition only, I have myself attended.*"

Mr. Clay has evinced a singular degree of logical acuteness, in his praises of that corrupt "old hand-maid of slavery," yclept Colonization. At one moment, he lauds the scheme, as one that will carry away from our own country "a *useless* and *pernicious*, if not a *dangerous* portion of our population."

The next moment, he assures us that, each "*emigrant* is a *missionary*, carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions."

Precious missionaries indeed must be these "*useless, pernicious*, and *dangerous*" people, who must be shipped from our shores for our own safety!

Did that acute and sagacious statesman *think* he was speaking truth, when he made those absurdly contradictory statements? Or did he think of nothing, but how slavery could be best supported?

Among Mr. Clay's claims to the votes of freemen, it should not be forgotten that he helped to *extend* the dominion of slavery beyond the limit marked by the "geographical conscience" of his countrymen. He defended the institution of slavery on its own merits, in the Senate of the United States; and he worked to bring Missouri into the Union, with her whips and chains, in defiance of the moral sentiment of the free States.

The man who votes for Henry Clay, while he remains in his present position on this subject, ought never afterwards to call himself an abolitionist.—L. M. C.

CHIP OF THE OLD BLOCK.

We copy the following from the Houston (Texas) Telegraph:

"NEGRO STEALING.—A Mexican was lately captured, and hung in the vicinity of Texana, who was attempting to run away with a negro girl, belonging to a citizen of that place, and with whom he had been living as his wife. He stole two fine horses in the neighborhood, upon one of which he mounted his *dulcinea*, and the other took for himself. He was pursued by a party of the citizens, and retaken near Lavaca; where he was immediately hung to a tree, and the slave restored to her master. Another Mexican was discovered a few weeks since, lurking upon a plantation near San Felipe. The owner of the plantation arrested him; and after making inquiry, found that he had been enticing several of his slaves to run away with him to Mexico. The rogue confessed his crime, and the planter ordered one of his slaves to cut off both his ears. After this was done, and a few lashes applied to his back, he was directed to start for the Rio Grande, forthwith. He has not been heard of since. Several attempts of a similar character have been made by Mexicans; and our planters should be on their guard lest their slaves should be enticed away. The Mexicans are so fond of associating with negroes, and contracting alliances with them, that it will be difficult to prevent thefts of this kind, while they are permitted to have free intercourse with slaves."

Poor Oceola had his wife snatched from him by the United States, who claimed her as a slave. The brave man died, a victim to American treachery, with no one to trace fairly the record of his wrongs. And who can ascertain the true history of the Mexican victim, whose fate is recorded in the above paragraph? All we know, is on the authority of his murderers. They tell us that he was hung, by lynch law, for seeking the freedom of a woman, whom he claimed as his wife. How strong and disinterested might have been the attachment of the Mexican, how honorable his motives in seeking to free the beloved slave, we may never know. As for the sneer, that "Mexicans are so fond of contracting *alliances* with negroes," like the southern taunt of "amalgamation," it comes with an ill grace from a people wallowing in profligacy of the most unmanly and degrading kind; inasmuch as it does not pretend even to a temporary affection for its objects. Because the Mexicans include all complexions in the bond of human brotherhood, and treat a colored woman according to the same standard of morality, that they treat a white woman, *they* must be stigmatized as "*fond* of associating with negroes;" while the southern or Texan planter, whose plantation is his harem, who scourges a colored woman for daring to prefer husband or lover of her own complexion, and who sells their mutual offspring to the highest bidder, is the one who sneers at him, as demi-civilized! Verily this world is a strange masquerade!

A Texan correspondent of the New-York Herald, writes thus:

"Texas has been denounced as a land of robbers and swindlers. We may be the people described; but if so, let not the United States denounce us. If imprudent, we are but the prodigal sons of good fathers. We are of the same race, same stock, descended from the same families, and partake of the same feelings and sentiments. You of the United States gave us being and existence. You taught us to love freedom, and to *despise tyranny and oppression*. You inculcated into our youthful minds the doctrines of republicanism, and commanded us to spread it throughout the world. We are but obeying *your* mandates, and executing the principles of our education, and *your* institutions."

A truer word is seldom spoken. They *are*, indeed, "executing the principles of *our* institutions." Missouri imprisons in her penitentiary those who would facilitate the slave's escape; Texas contents herself with chopping off ears, and scourging, under similar circumstances: Mexico, it will be remembered, emancipated all her slaves, when she took her own freedom as a nation; *she* saw the incongruity of pretending to be a republic, while she held slaves. Texas began her career by an effort to make slavery perpetual. But when has the United States given a tithe of that sympathy to Mexico, which has been so warmly poured forth, for the "lone star of Texas?" Is it because the Mexican character has few claims on our respect? Surely, it would be difficult to find a more thoroughly ferocious, licentious, and demoralized set than the Texans.

The correspondent of the Herald above referred to, does not affect to establish any very high claim for the reputation of his country. He says:

"Texas has been denounced as an asylum for refugees from justice. But let this pass. Though fallen, in the private transactions of life, below the standard of the "first families of Virginia," in consequence of repeated aberrations, yet we still maintain the principles and force of early education; and although, like many of them in olden times, we may have "left our country for our country's good," yet we think we are as honest, and know we are a "braver, and better people," than those who traduce us."

And these are the people, for whom we are called to do battle! These are lauded as patriots, republicans, friends of freedom, our own glorious sons!—L. M. C.

MEXICO.

The reply of our Secretary of State, to the communication of the Mexican minister, (published in our last,) has been submitted to the Senate, and loudly applauded, especially by southerners. It maintains that "the United States have maintained an honest and cautious neutrality in the contest between Texas and Mexico." Its tone is decidedly belligerent; and nearly all the newspapers join in the war-cry against Mexico. What it is that whets our national valor against a feeble neighbor, may be inferred from the following extract, from the Washington Independent, March 23, 1842. It was written by a great admirer of Texas. Speaking of the eagerness of the people to invade Mexico, he says:

"In spite of all this heroism, it must not be forgotten, that Texas is but of yesterday, and does not count above 80,000 inhabitants of the *white* race; while the several Mexican populations are estimated at from nine to ten millions. The event would be doubtful, if our untameable republicans stood *alone* in the contest; but *such will not be the fact*. It will be a struggle of the Anglo-Saxon *breed* against the Spanish. The friends of Texas reassure themselves with the thought that it is the war of iron against gold; the former, in the hands of a people, full of vigor, courage, and youth; the latter, held by a degraded caste, plunged in fanaticism and anarchy."

Who that has noticed the cunning, cautious, and secret policy of our government concerning Texas, can doubt that Gen. Waddy Thompson was sent to get up a war with Mexico, at the very time Texas was about to invade her, and clamoring for our help?

TRAVELLER'S DIRECTORY.

We have published a Traveller's Directory this week, not only as convenient for reference, in these days of perpetual locomotion; but especially that the friends of equal rights may remember to patronize those lines, which make no oppressive distinctions. If only half a hundred respectable and influential citizens would set a good example on this subject, in each State, the evil would be remedied forthwith. It is astonishing, with how much ease such reforms are accomplished, if each one will only do his duty. Exceedingly few individuals have *themselves* any objections to riding with a cleanly colored person, in public vehicles; but multitudes are afraid that others will laugh at them. Give them respectable example to lean against, since they are not strong enough to stand alone.

☞ We return cordial thanks to Mr. Furness, of Philadelphia, for his admirable Fourth of July sermon. Whenever half the clergymen of the land will follow his praiseworthy example, in bearing a free and manly testimony against an institution, which they all know to be most wicked in its character, and most fatal in its results; that very hour will slavery be abolished. We are glad to hear that Mr. Furness is sustained, in the conscientious discharge of his duty, by a few of his people, though several took so great offense as to leave the meeting.

Anti-Slavery Items.

FIRST OF AUGUST.—Friends of emancipation! while we are mingling our tears with those of our unhappy countrymen who are held in servile chains, let us not forget that we are equally bound to rejoice with the eight hundred thousand bondmen, who have been emancipated in the British West India islands. The anniversary of that great and glorious event—the first of August—is close at hand. Are you making your arrangements to celebrate it, in a becoming manner? Are you resolved to do something, on that day,—though it may be that some are so situated as to be able to do but little,—that shall evince your appreciation of the jubilee, and that shall contribute toward the overthrow of American slavery? Then, bestir yourselves for the occasion! Are your children committing to memory, appropriate pieces for recitation and declamation, in prose and verse? See that you are forthwith supplied with copies of the little volume, just published by Mr. Collins, and for sale at 25 Cornhill, entitled "The Anti-Slavery Pic-Nic." It is just the thing.—*Liberator*.

FIRST OF AUGUST.—The following resolution was passed at the late annual meeting of the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society. We hope it will bring forth fruit:

Resolved, That this society highly approves of the plan proposed by the board of managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, to celebrate the approaching anniversary of West India emancipation throughout the Commonwealth, by anti-slavery pic-nics; and would recommend the abolitionists of the several towns in this county, to adopt measures, forthwith, to make this anniversary one of great interest and usefulness; and trust that they will not be discouraged, on the ground that their numbers are few and their influence small.

FIRST OF AUGUST.—At the quarterly meeting of the Worcester County Anti-Slavery Society, the following was passed, with but one dissenting voice:

Resolved, That the first of August is a day deserving the hearty and grateful commemoration of all lovers of human rights, equally, at least, with the fourth of July, or any other anniversary of the exploits of men. Therefore, we rejoice to know that its celebration is becoming more and more an object of attention; and we would respectfully recommend all abolitionists in this country to adopt measures for an appropriate notice of the approaching anniversary of British West India emancipation.

TEXAS.—At the same meeting, the following resolution was passed, and merits the most serious attention:

Resolved, That the imminent peril which has, at different periods, threatened our land, of the annexation of Texas to this Union, has by no means passed away; that we have indications and warnings, not to be mistaken, that there is an extensive and deep-laid plan to effect this object, and thereby extend indefinitely the power of slavery. It contindes, therefore, indispensably necessary, that abolitionists should be faithful to protest against this most dangerous and fatal measure, and watchful to employ every right method to frustrate it.

The following letter was likewise read from William B. Calhoun, representative to Congress, from Massachusetts:

WASHINGTON, June 5, 1842.

DEAR SIR,—I have received the petition you sent me, concerning Texas. I am glad to see that you keep this subject in your eye. It is really the only great source of apprehension, in reference to the downward progress of slavery. If Texas should happen to get into the Union, it would paralyze all efforts to overthrow slavery. I am afraid the free States are not sufficiently awake upon this subject of Texas. Three or four of the southern and southwestern State legislatures have sent us resolutions, praying the admission of Texas.

With regard to your remonstrance, I shall be under the necessity of handing it to the clerk, according to the rule adopted, on motion of Mr. Adams. This is the only way we can now get in petitions of any kind.

I will also give a memorandum of the scope of the remonstrance, to the reporter, for publication in the Intelligencer. Respectfully, your obedient servant,

Col. J. M. FISKE. W. B. CALHOUN.

Married,

In Nantucket, on Friday morning last, by Rev. R. F. Walcut, of Dennis, Hon. DAVID JOY, to Miss CHARLOTTE AUSTIN, daughter of Isaac Austin, of N.

All abolitionists.

Died.

On the night of the 2nd inst., near Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio, DEBORAH CATTELL, (wife of Jonas D. Cattell,) aged 29 years.

In recording the decease of this lovely and interesting woman, the uncertainty of all terrestrial happiness is most forcibly impressed upon the mind; blessed as she was in life, in the possession of almost every gift calculated to inspire love, and make the world attractive to her view. In the enjoyment of domestic felicity of no ordinary character; surrounded by numerous, attached, and admiring friends; blessed with the means of making herself extensively useful in community; she has been suddenly summoned by the pale messenger, "from works to rewards," and happy would it be for all, if they were as well entitled to the heaven-emanating answer of "well done, good and faithful servant." For, as far as finite beings can judge, most faithfully had she discharged the duties of life. Active in her benevolence, and untiring in her devotion to the cause of suffering humanity; it was her delight to administer to the unfortunate, the unobtrusive sympathy of her kind and gentle heart, and the unostentatious charity of a refined and discriminating mind.

By her death, "those still in bonds" have lost a friend who, according to all human calculation, might have lived to witness the anticipated triumph of justice, and human rights in this country: to rejoice in the ultimate consummation of the hopes of the philanthropic and the good. But He who lent her to the world, to her family, and friends, for a season, has seen fit to recall his gift; and God forbid! that any should mourn as those without hope. The pierced bosom must and will bleed;—the bereaved heart cannot cease to feel; but in the contemplation of her *eternal* blessedness, let us subdue all selfish repining, imitate her example, and humbly exclaim, "Thy will be done, oh, Father."

"Bright spirit farewell! in this far-distant land,
Where thy footsteps have wandered from youth's early band;
There are those who remember the mildness and grace
That dwell in thy movements, thy form, and thy face;
There are those who can feel for the bosoms that yearn
For the loved one who went, but who may not return.
Who would not let thee pass from the beings that live,
Without the faint tribute that friendship can give;
Who if for a moment, thy lot could be theirs
Would scorn this cold world with its ignoble cares.
Would quit the bright sun, the dominions of day—
And soar with the flight of an eagle away."

MARLBOROUGH, July, 1842.

On the 28th ult. ELIZA GOULD, aged 18 months—and on the 9th inst., CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, aged 4 years and 1 month, children of Joseph and Rachel W. Healy, of Philadelphia.

May God comfort these friends of the slave under their great bereavement; and may they, with resigned hearts, give these little ones to the angels.

On the 12th inst., JULIA GREW, daughter of Henry Grew, of Philadelphia, aged 34 years.

JOHN HARFIELD TREADGOLD, late Secretary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, died at Richmond, Surry, on the 22d inst. aged 44. His long and zealous efforts in the anti-slavery cause, combined with the Christian excellences which distinguished his personal character, rendered him, while living, an object of affectionate esteem to the numerous friends of the African race, and will now secure for his memory their deep and lasting veneration.—*London Patriot*.

Congressional.

IN SENATE.

The bill farther to extend remedial justice in the courts of the United States, has passed the Senate by votes 27 to 17. The case of McLeod gave rise to this bill, which the Nat. Intelligencer characterizes as one for guarding against unnecessary collision between the State and General Governments, on matters which properly belong, under the Constitution, and in the nature of things, to the General Government; to whom is given the superintendence of our foreign relations, the regulation of our intercourse with foreign nations, and the exclusive power of making war and peace. The passage of this bill was resisted with extraordinary perseverance and tenacity. But the argument was conclusively in its favor; and it accordingly passed by a majority unusually large for the Senate. The bill to pay the balance of the Massachusetts War claims has passed the Senate; as has also a bill fixing the par value of the pound sterling at $4,84.

After two hours discussion one day, whether the district Judge of Indiana should have $1500, or $1000, per annum, Mr. Bates rose and made the following sensible speech:—"Mr. President, there is one thing in which we *can* economize, and that is *time*. Seven months of the session are gone. We have before us eight folio pages of public and private bills to be acted on. Would it not be practical economy to take the question on this bill without further debate?" Cries of agreed, agreed. The question was taken, and the amendments were lost, together with the bill itself.

JULY 11.

Mr. PRESTON offered a resolution calling on the President, if compatible with the public interest, for the recent correspondence between this government and Mexico. Mr. P. referred to the recent letter of the Mexican Secretary of Foreign Relations to Mr. Webster, complaining of the aggressions committed by American citizens on the Mexican territory, of giving aid to the Texans, &c., and to the importance of having the remainder of the correspondence and an acquaintance with the whole subject.

Mr. ALLEN, of Ohio, said he believed England to be at the bottom of this whole matter. She wanted to make Mexico the instrument by which to make her descent on the weakest point in the Union, the South. He wanted the resolution to lie over, to enable him to offer an amendment of inquiry in relation to our affairs with England. He had no idea that we should escape a fight with Great Britain. He did not say this to create alarm, but to put the people on their guard, and shew them what was impending.

Mr. WALKER, of Missouri, intimated that the design of Mexico in this matter was to avoid the payment of the awards under the convention with the United States, amounting to some two or three millions of dollars.

Mr. SEVIER, of Arkansas, complained that we were too sensitive of insults from Mexico, and too little from a stronger state. He referred to the remedial justice bill as being in the spirit of submission to English wrong.

Mr. PRESTON, of South Carolina, entreated gentlemen not to encumber the question with another so different. He insisted that the conduct of this country towards Mexico through the whole Texan contest, had, in spite of our warm sympathy with the latter, been most moderate and just. We had taken no step as to Canada, which we had not equally taken as to Mexico.

As to Great Britain, Mr. P. appealed to his conduct on that floor, whenever any acts of that power had occurred fit to rouse our national resentments. For Texas, he had taken early part; hailing, from the first, her efforts as those of a younger sister of our own for freedom. He would be ready, if it ever became necessary, to offer to her independence the tribute of his blood, against a power which (as a member of the committee on foreign relations) he would not characterize as she deserved.

Mr. Sevier did not defend Mexico, but blamed both her and Great Britian. He went on to mention his own sympathy and efforts for Texas; but urged that the conduct of Britain towards us was yet more offensive than that of Mexico, towards whom, however, he again expressed great contempt. He went on to argue that our neutrality towards Mexico had been very ill observed.

The resolution was adopted.

On the 14th, the President of the Senate laid before that body a voluminous document, in answer to the call for the correspondence between our government and Mexico. Mr. Preston eulogized Mr. Webster's replies with great enthusiasm. He talked much of the indignities offered to our citizens by Mexico, and dwelt on the remarkable forbearance of the United States toward that government.

Mr. Sevier gave the communition of Mr. Webster his entire approbation. He thought it possessed the proper spirit and proper tone, and was, with another document, (that which related to the Creole) the only one that he had seen from that quarter of which complaint could not be made. There were two principles, he said, which seemed to actuate the American people, the love of money and the love of war. When plenty of money was to be made, they were engaged in that pursuit: but now, when money was scarce, the people were for war and chivalrous doings: and if we were to have war, now was the time, when thousands of the bravest spirits in the land could be had.

Mr. Preston insisted, as before, that there could be no question of the high moderation and forbearance with which we have met, on the part of Mexico, a series of injuries and indignities, such as if would have been utterly disgraceful to bear, except from a nation whose feeble and embarrassed state made concessions and patience a matter of magnanimity, in a country so much more powerful and secure. We should, as long as it is possible, forbear towards a sister republic; but we shall, at last, be compelled to chastise a government that only repays our kindness with wrongs, and our moderation with insults. M. P. moved the reference of the correspondence to the committee of foreign relations.

Mr. Sevier admitted there was cause of complaint against Mexico; he wished, however, to see the same high tone taken toward Great Britain, when *that* correspondence appeared.

Mr. Preston: "You will find it stronger toward Great Britain."

Mr. Sevier: "I hope, sir, it is so. I hope Mr. Webster will follow up that tone towards all nations. We had a good specimen of it in the Creole case. If the secretary had carried out that tone towards Great Britain, in the other correspondence, he (Mr. S.) for one, would promise him his most cordial support."

Mr. Crittenden approved highly of the tone assumed by the government of the United States. He should have regretted the employment of any menaces or bluster toward any power so little formidable as Mexico.

The motion to refer and print was agreed to.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Congress is now in the ninth month of its session; whether it will adjourn in season for the members to travel home and back again for the next session is a problem. Under the one hour rule, *fifty-nine* speeches were delivered on the subject of the revenue tariff bill; thirty-two in favor of the bill, and twenty-seven against it. Each member is limited to fifteen minutes for an explanation, and ten minutes for a reply. Amendments innumerable were proposed, and many adopted. There is hardly a member of the house who did not feel bound to move an amendment, imposing duties on some article in which his district is interested. The Vermonters for wool, the Pennsylvanians for iron, the Louisianians for sugar, &c. The western members could not consent to extend the protection of this bill to the manufacturing interests of the eastern States without some return, to reconcile their constituents to its provisions. They required as a return, a distribution of the proceeds of the public lands. They made this claim on the presumption that the tariff will yield sufficient revenue for an economical administration of the government. The bill has passed the House by a very full vote; 116 to 112. The proposition to strike out the land distribution clause was negatived; 105 to 70.

JULY 12.

J. Q. ADAMS asked leave to offer a resolution, calling on the President of the United States to communicate to the House, so far as may be compatible with the public interest, copies of all the correspondence between this government and that of Mexico, since the appointment of our present minister to that government; also copies of all the instructions given to that minister at and since his departure; also of his despatches to this government, particularly of any complaint of the Mexican government, alledging the toleration by this government of the hostile interference of American citizens in the war between Mexico and Texas; and of any answers on the part of this government to such complaint.

Also copies of all correspondence between this government and Texas, since the last communication of the President relative to that republic,—and of any proclamation of the President of Texas, declaring his determination to invade *Mexico*, and inviting the co-oporation of the United States in such intended invasion. Likewise, that the President be requested to state, whether any, and if any, *what notice has been taken by the Executive of this government of the said proclamation of the President of Texas*.

Mr. Pickens had no objection to the adoption of the first branch of the resolution. But, he was understood to say, he was not willing the last branch should be adopted without some inquiry.

The first branch of the resolution was adopted. The remainder lies over.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Ominous.—The United States steam frigate Mississippi, Captain Salter, now off the Battery, is understood to be under immediate orders for *the Gulf of Mexico*. A courier is likewise going across the country, full speed, with despatches to our minister in Mexico.

Negotiation with Great Britain.—The reports from Washington, on this subject, look rather squally. The general opinion seems to be, that there are difficulties in the way of a peaceable adjustment, which will not be easily overcome.

The Madisonian holds the following swaggering language: "But, peace or war with Great Britain—we shall be ready to look Mr. Bocanegra in the face, as *black* as it is; and also to att

Poetry.

ON THE REMOVAL OF SOME OLD FAMILY PICTURES.

BY CAROLINE BOWLES.

Silent friends, fare ye well!
Shadows, adieu!
Living friends long I've lost—
Now I lose you.

Bitter tears many I've shed;
You've seen them flow;
Dreary hours many I've spent,
Full well ye know.

Yet, in my loneliness,
Kindly, methought,
Still ye looked down on me,
Mocking me not,

With light speech and hollow words,
Grating so sore,
The sad heart with many ills,
Sick to the core.

Then, if my clouded skies
Brightened awhile,
Seemed your soft, serious eyes
Almost to smile.

Silent friends, fare ye well!
Shadows, adieu!
Living friends long I've lost—
Now I lose you.

Taken from hearth and board,
When all were gone,
I looked up to you, and felt
Not quite forlorn;

Not quite companionless,
When in each face
Met me, familiar,
The stamp of my race.

Thine, gentle ancestress,
Dove-like and fair!
Melting in sympathy
Oft for my care.

Grim knight, and stern-visaged!
Yet could I see
(Smoothing that furrowed face)
Good will to me.

Bland looks were beaming
Upon me, I know,
Fair sir! bonnie lady!
From you, and from you.

Little think happy ones,
Heart-circled round,
How fast to senseless things
Hearts may be bound;

How, when the living prop 's
Mouldered and gone,
Heart-strings, low trailing left,
Clasp the cold stone.

Silent friends, fare ye well!
Shadows, adieu!
Living friends long I've lost—
Now I lose you.

Often, when spirit-vexed,
Weary and worn,
To your quiet faces, mute friends,
Would I turn.

Soft, as I gazed on them,
Soothing as balm,
Lulling the passion storm,
Stole your deep calm.

Still, as I longer looked,
Surely, methought,
You read and replied to
My questioning thought.

"Daughter!" you softly said,
"Peace to thy heart!
We too, yes daughter, have
Been as thou art;

Tossed on the stormy waves,
Life's stormy sea!
Chance and change manifold
Proving, like thee.

Hope-lifted, doubt-depressed,
Seeing in part;
Tried, troubled, tempted,
Sustained, as thou art.

Our God is thy God; what He
Willeth is best;
Trust Him, as we trusted;
Then rest, as we rest."

Silent friends, fare ye well!
Shadows, adieu!
One friend abideth still,
All-changes through.

THE DIVINE IMAGE.

BY BLAKE, THE ARTIST.

To mercy, pity, peace, and love,
All pray in their distress;
And to these virtues of delight,
Return their thankfulness.

For mercy, pity, peace, and love,
Is God, our Father dear;
And mercy, pity, peace, and love,
Is man, his child and care.

For mercy has a human heart,
Pity, a human face,
And love, the human form divine,
And peace, the human dress.

Then every man, of every clime,
That prays in his distress,
Prays to the human form divine,
Love, mercy, pity, peace.

And all must love the human form,
In heathen, Turk, or Jew;
Where mercy, love, and pity dwell,
There God is dwelling too.

OH, NO—NOT EV'N WHEN FIRST WE LOVED.

BY THOMAS MOORE.

Oh, no—not ev'n when first we loved,
Wert thou so dear as now thou art;
Thy beauty then my senses moved,
But now thy virtues bind my heart.
What was but passion's sign before,
Has since been turned to reason's vow;
And, though I then might love thee *more*,
Trust me, I love thee *better* now.

Although my heart, in earlier youth,
Might kindle with more wild desire;
Believe me, it has gained in truth,
Much more than it has lost in fire.
The flame now warms my inmost core,
That then but sparkled o'er my brow;
And though I seemed to love thee *more*,
Yet, oh, I love thee *better* now.

REST.

The silent joy that sinks so deep,
Of confidence and rest,
Lulled in a father's arms to sleep,
Clasped to a mother's breast.

Who but a Christian, through all life,
That blessing may prolong?
Who through the world's sad day of strife,
Still chant his morning song?—*Keble.*

Miscellany.

From Friendship's Offering, for 1842.

THE AFRICAN DAUGHTER.

A TRUE STORY.

After a residence of several months in various parts of the United States of America, I passed the winter of 1809, in the town and neighborhood of St. Mary, situated near the mouth of the river of the same name; at that time, the southeastern boundary of the republic. I there became acquainted with a Mr. Mackintosh, the proprietor of a small island, within the confines of Florida, which he held under certain legal restrictions of the Spanish authorities at St. Augustine; and in the improvement of which, he had displayed a degree of talent and energy, quite unexampled amongst the ordinary subjects of that supine and corrupt government.

Mr. Mackintosh was a native of North America, and, notwithstanding his provisional engagement with colonial Spain, a most zealous citizen of the Union. He had the advantage of a liberal education, for the acquisition of which he was early sent to Scotland, whence, in due time, he was transferred to the University of Oxford; and, at the period to which I have referred, when he might have attained his fiftieth year, the polished manners of a gentleman and a lover of literature, still adhered to him, despite of a long association with an uncultivated and motley population, and in the midst of a natural wilderness, of a most rude and singular character.

I was easily induced, at a moment of leisure, to accept an earnest invitation from this gentleman, to pass a week or two on his romantic estate; and, after an interval of nearly twenty years, I still dwell with pleasure on the retrospection of that delightful excursion. We embarked in his light and airy canoe, partly covered by a solid, arched awning, under which we reposed on leopard skins, spread over a hard mattrass and bolster, in the full view of eight lusty negroes, who seemed to play with, rather than labor at, the oars; and who listened with rapturous attention, to an occasional chant from the steersman seated behind us, evidently anxious for the termination of each stanza, when they were expected to lend their own stentorian voices to the general chorus. The happy, ingenuous countenances of these faithful slaves, afforded an unerring testimony of the humanity and good nature of my acquaintance; who seemed to take a benevolent delight, in witnessing the cheerfulness of his humble dependents. A refined inquisition into the motives of conduct, might, perhaps, have led to the suspicion, that his humanity was not altogether disinterested. He was wholly in the power, and at the mercy, of his sable crew. We had, on the present occasion, embarked at the break of day, for the purpose of affording me an opportunity of viewing the beautiful scenery, through which we had to wind our devious course; but his solitary excursions, for objects of business, were most frequently performed in the dead of night, when it was his habit to undress, and sleep in his comfortable little cabin, where the vindictive hand of a helmsman, sweating under the oppression of a tyrannical master, could have readily reached him; and the peculiar circumstances of the country, constituting the boundaries of two independent sovereignties, and otherwise extraordinarily adapted for facilitating the escape of criminals, would have insured liberty, as well as impunity, to the perpetrators of such an outrage. But the general character and conduct of my friend, convinced me that his confidence of complete security rested upon the best foundations; and that it was prudent and wise, as well as generous and noble.

It would be inconsistent with my present design, to attempt a description of the various interesting objects that attracted my attention, during our circuitous passage of many hours' duration, to the island of Fort George. My previous transit from Savannah to St. Mary's, through the narrow, intricate channels, which disunite the numerous group, commonly known under the appellation of the "Sea islands," which supply to our most important manufactories, the best quality of cotton wool, had already rendered me familiar with the general character of the scenery before me, although I had seen nothing on the coast of Georgia, that could be compared with the beauties of this part of the Spanish territory. Perhaps, however, the principal charm of the whole, consisted in the romantic wildness, solitude, and stillness, of the vast forests, craggy cliffs, and profound, clear sea; the brightness and genial warmth of the sky and atmosphere, the numbers, variety, and undaunted confidence, of the winged and finny tribes, above and below us; and that much of its interest will be lost to a mere lover of uncultivated nature, at least, when, in the course of time, it shall be more effectually subjected to the active energy of our busy, intrusive, and turbulent species.

It is also beside my purpose, to dwell on the localities and productions of my host's microscopic empire, an island of about three miles in length, and two broad, exclusively inhabited by his family, his dependents, and slaves; only partially cleared and cultivated, abounding with deer and smaller game; the resort of pelicans, alligators, and other interesting tenants of the air and water; specimens of which we are accustomed to behold with wonder, in the repositories of exhibiters, or the glazed cases of museums.

The mistress of this isolated domain, I found to be a most amiable and well-educated woman, the daughter of a general officer of reputation, in the army of the States. Providence, which had endowed her with a cheerful and contented disposition, had denied her the blessing of children; but the well-minded couple had sought a compensation for this privation, by adopting as their own, four or five orphan relatives; to these they had added several of the offspring of their poorer northern friends, who had eagerly lent themselves to Mrs. Mackintosh's views, of filling up the leisure of a useful and interesting life, by cultivating and directing in the paths of peace and virtue, the flexible minds of those interesting objects of her benevolence.

A long residence in the West Indies had given me some insight into the general management of negro slaves; and my experience had certainly done nothing towards diminishing my abhorrence of a system, which destroys the natural relations between man and man, and levels the dignified possessor of reason, and the various amiable sympathies of humanity, to the condition of the brute of the field. If the government of Mr. Mackintosh could not reconcile me to the system itself, it at least presented it to my view, in its most favorable aspect. Instead of leaving them exposed to the uncertain judgment or caprice of their master, he had been at the pains to institute a well-devised code of laws, which regulated his own conduct, as well as theirs. These regulations appeared to me to be perfectly simple and intelligible; and, setting aside the difficulties inseparably connected with the principle, rigorously just. They exacted labor which was easy of performance; more so, indeed, than that of the free European peasant; rewarded meritorious exertion; and punished, with a lenient hand, wilful neglect, or criminal disobedience; provisions were not omitted for the moral improvement and instruction of the people; and the odious libertinism, common to slaves of all times and countries, was checked, by the introduction among them of the rite of marriage, together with proper safeguards for the due observance of its essential precepts.

I had sufficient opportunities of satisfying myself of the practical advantages of these, and other salutary innovations upon the ordinary rules of slave government. The most perfect order, good humor, and confidence, prevailed throughout the little community. Its chief had felt the laudable ambition of investing himself with the character of the parent and friend, rather than the lord and tyrant, of his people; and the wisdom of his choice appeared, in the superior success of his undertakings, as well as in the unequivocal marks of respect and attachment, of which he was, on all sides, the happy and conscious object.

Of the black population, which I think amounted to three hundred, thus fortunately relieved of the weightier links of their fetters, one woman particularly attracted my attention; less on account of the peculiar favor, with which she was evidently regarded by her master and mistress, than the exceeding propriety of her unaffected manners, the elegance of her faultless form, and the placid dignity of her melancholy, but mildly animated countenance. I have frequently seen female negroes, whose regular features were wholly free from that deformity, usually observed in the African race—the wide nostril, and flat lip, the disagreeable mark of apparent vulgar stupidity; but I had never before met with one, who, in addition to this advantage, could boast of features so expressively benignant, and so decidedly indicative of a clear, and well-regulated intellect.

She was a mother. The babe at her breast seemed to be the object of the most touching natural tenderness; but, superior to the ordinary selfishness of the uninstructed vulgar, the whole of her intercourse with the family on which she depended, as well as with her fellows in bondage, was replete with proofs that her heart was the depository of affections adapted to every variety of virtue and duty.

The history of this interesting person, a living evidence, despite of the revolting theory of the inconsistent Jefferson, of the moral capabilities of her unlucky race, could not be long concealed from any one. The stranger who was fortunate enough to obtain a view of the singular community, of which she was a prominent ornament, felt himself irresistibly attracted to the subject; and he found each of its members too eager to satisfy his curiosity to allow him even the credit of displaying his sensibility by a previous inquiry.

Hannah had, at a very early age, been transferred from the horrors of a slave ship to the fostering care of her present owners, who were soon aware of her superior intelligence and merit, and accordingly treated her with more than a usual share of regard and consideration. Industrious, attentive, and grateful, the performance of the duties of her humble station was to her a source of exquisite pleasure; flowing both from a natural love of application, and the delight of witnessing the satisfaction her conduct afforded to her benefactors. Her readiness of conception, and singular expertness, increased each year the value of her services; and her mistress condescended to instruct her in branches of education, such as reading, writing, and the more ornamental parts of housewifery, seldom accessible to the slave, as the best reward that could, under her circumstances, be bestowed for her meritorious diligence. These intellectual gifts necessarily raised her in the estimation of the whole community; and they were so gracefully blended with her natural humility and sense of propriety, that her superior attainments excited the pride and wonder, instead of the envy, of her fellow-dependents.

Long after her arrival in America, it happened that her master was attracted to a neighboring port by the news of a recent importation from the Gold coast; the extended cultivation of the estate requiring at the time the accession of a few additional hands. The individuals he was inclined to select, belonged to one of the numerous tribes of the Mandingo nation; but the supercargo refused to part with them unaccompanied by an elderly man of the same country, who had been uniformly rejected by the other planters on account, principally, of his inflexible haughtiness of manner and ferocious appearance. He had held, it was reported, the rank of a chieftain; and the innumerable cicatrices which intersected every part of his robust frame, proclaimed, in unequivocal language, the character of his former occupations; while they excited a reasonable doubt of his fitness for the more peaceful pursuits of the field. Every one felt more disposed to shun than to burden himself, at the expense of a pretty round sum, with a desperado of this description: but Mr. Mackintosh, before coming to an ultimate decision, was desirous of communicating orally with the formidable negro, in the hope of reconciling him to his inevitable fate, by holding out the expectation of mild and generous treatment. The few words elicited from him with exceeding difficulty were, however, quite unintelligible to the several interpreters employed on the occasion; and my friend was at length induced to avail himself of the assistance of Hannah, who had, on a former occasion, relieved him from a similar embarrassment. The girl was accordingly sent for; but no sooner had she fixed her eyes on the miserable captive, than, to the infinite surprise of the bystanders, she flew into his arms; and, during the passionate utterance of the most affecting exclamations, nearly overpowered him with her embraces and her tears.

The old warrior was her father! Time, new connections, accomplishments, and opinions, had all been insufficient to efface his revered image from her memory, or to diminish the force of her filial love.

She had to recall to his mind numerous incidents of her youth and their common home, before he was fully persuaded of her identity; but her grateful attestations of the kindness and general humanity of her owners, and her fervent declarations of unqualified satisfaction with the lot assigned her by Providence in a strange land, although the recital sensibly affected, and even extracted tears from him, totally failed of their intended effect. Instead of exciting a wish to be numbered among the dependents of so virtuous a master, under whose protection he might hope to enjoy the society of a fond and dutiful child, he evinced the strongest repugnance to the proffered service. In the course of the debate, the dreadful truth came out. He had been treacherously entrapped by the villany of one of the numerous miscreants who had settled on the shores of his native country, for the sole purpose of betraying into irredeemable bondage its confiding inhabitants: the hope of revenge, the dire, indiscriminate revenge of a stern, implacable savage, had alone sustained him under the pressure of his heavy misfortune; but he had not contemplated the possibility of falling into the power of white men who could possess any claims upon his forbearance. To be received into a family to which he already felt himself deeply indebted, was to frustrate his vindictive purpose, and was, therefore, viewed as the greatest calamity that could now befall him.

The avowal filled the soul of the agonized girl with conflicting passions. The desire of preserving the life, alleviating the sufferings, and securing the society of her degraded parent, contended with her duty and attachment to her employer, from whom she could not prevail upon herself to conceal the motives and character of so dangerous an inmate. Bedewed with tears, and bent to the ground, she alternately clasped the knees of each, and in moving strains of natural eloquence appealed to the paternal consideration of the one, and the humane feelings of the other. The generous planter, who felt that he had nothing to fear besides the risk of burdening himself with an unprofitable servant, was at length induced to yield to her entreaties: and, to the evident disappointment of the inexorable African, concluded his bargain with the slave merchant.

The work of the *new* negro, the usual designation of the plantation servant, is always light: the palpable interest of the owner has uniformly suggested the necessity of securing the complete possession of his slave, by very gradual approaches. The captive chieftain was installed in a comfortable cabin, where his only sufferings were those which did not admit of relief, as they flowed exclusively from his own bitter reflections. Ample rations were assigned him; and the gratified Hannah was indefatigable in her exertions, not only to minister to his comforts, but to allay the irritation of his intensely excited feelings. It was impossible, even for a savage, to resist the endearments of so amiable a creature. His more violent passions were, by degrees, to all appearances, completely subdued; but he sunk, at the same time, into a deplorable state of apathetic melancholy, which impaired his strength and health, and effectually precluded all prospect of deriving the least benefit from his services.

The industry of the daughter increased with the increasing indolence of the parent: she felt herself bound to supply his deficiencies; and it was frequently necessary to restrain her ardor, to prevent her from suffering from too much exertion. More than a year was passed in this way. Moderate exercise would have benefited himself more than any one else; and with this view, he was occasionally urged, although with caution, to engage in some light employment. These applications were fruitless; but he was not insensible to the mortification of depending upon the charitable forbearance of his principal, whose salutary directions he was conscious of violating, by his wayward supineness.

The weekly rations were distributed to the negroes, at the threshold of the magazine, built on an elevated site, near the edge of a cliff which projected over the sea. There was usually, at the time of the issue, a general assembly of the people; when Mr. Mackintosh attended, in person, to inquire into their condition, and listen to their applications; but he had considerately abstained from insisting upon the appearance of the old Mandingo, whose allowance of provisions was delivered to his daughter. On one occasion, however, he suddenly presented himself, to the surprise of everybody, not with the humble deportment of a slave, or retaining the least trace of his former apathy, but with the proud, reckless step of a warrior, conscious of his strength, and accustomed to the respect and terror of his friends and foes. The awe-struck crowd gave way, as he deliberately approached their common master, whom he sternly addressed in words, as they were subsequently interpreted, nearly to the following effect:

"Infamously wronged by an individual of your nation, from the basest of motives, my feelings have been scarcely less tortured by your mistaken kindness. Defrauded of liberty, my mind at least remained unshackled, until an unhappy fatality threw me into contact with a being, the possibility even of whose existence I had previously doubted—a white man, possessed of honor and humanity, interposed my long lost child between me and my just revenge, and left me nothing I could call my own, save the horrors of the blackest despair. Who can count the pangs your obtruded benefits have cost me, or describe the bitterness of the bread you have forced upon my acceptance? It was here, and here only, that misery overtook me: I was comparatively happy under the cruel inflictions of treachery, and while chained to the walls of my dungeon. White man, farewell! Reserve, henceforward, your well-meant, but pernicious, charity for those who have not learnt, as I have, to consider it in the light of the direst curse: the food of the enemies of my race has already for the last time contaminated my life!"

A long pause succeeded this passionate and abrupt address. Wildly glaring on the various objects around him, he at length snatched his child to his bosom, and hastily casting her from him, rushed to the cliff, and precipitated himself into the sea. The distracted girl, loudly shrieking, fell, almost at the same time, in the vain attempt to arrest his fearful progress. She was, without much difficulty, rescued from the abyss; but the body of her hapless sire was recovered only after he had breathed his last; as it appeared he had resolutely grasped some fixed substance at the bottom, until life was completely extinguished.

The sensitive Hannah had only imperfectly recovered from all the consequences of this calamitous event, two or three years after its occurrence; the period of my visit to Fort George. New affections had, however, gained entrance in her breast; and the faithful performance of the duties of a wife and parent, had been rewarded with the usual consolations of virtuous conduct, while they usefully diverted her attention from the fruitless regrets of an unhappy daughter.

TRIBUTE TO A WIFE.

Sir James Macintosh thus beautifully describes, in a letter to a friend, the character of his deceased wife:

"Allow me, in justice to her memory, to tell you what she was, and what I owed her. I was guided in my choice only by the blind affection of my youth. I found an intelligent companion, and a tender friend, a prudent monitress, the most faithful of wives, and a mother as tender as children ever had the misfortune to lose. I met a woman who, by the tender management of my weaknesses, gradually corrected the most pernicious of them. She became prudent from affection; and though of the most generous nature, she was taught frugality and economy by her love for me. During the most critical period of my life, she preserved order in my affairs, from the care of which she relieved me. She gently reclaimed me from dissipation; she propped my weak and irresolute nature; she urged my indolence to all the exertions that have been useful or creditable to me; and she was perpetually at hand, to admonish my heedlessness and improvidence. To her I owe whatever I am; to her whatever I shall be. In her solicitude for my interest, she never, for a moment, forgot my feelings or my character. Even in her occasional resentment, for which I but too often gave her cause, (would to God I could recall those moments,) she had no sullenness nor acrimony. Her feelings were warm and impetuous; but she was placable, tender, and constant. Such was she whom I have lost; and I have lost her when her excellent natural sense was rapidly improving, and after eight years of struggle and distress had bound us fast to each other—when a knowledge of her worth had refined my youthful love into friendship, before age had deprived it of much of its original ardor—I lost her, alas! (the choice of my youth, and the partner of my misfortunes,) at a moment when I had a prospect of her sharing my better days.

"The philosophy which I have learnt, only teaches me that virtue and friendship are the greatest of human blessings; and that their loss is irreparable. It aggravates my calamity, instead of consoling me under it. My wounded heart seeks another consolation. Governed by these feelings, which have in every age and region of the world actuated the human mind, I seek relief; and I find it, in the soothing hope and consolatory opinion, that a benevolent wisdom inflicts the chastisement, as well as bestows the enjoyment of human life; that superintending goodness will one day enlighten the darkness which surrounds our nature, and hangs over our prospects; that this dreary and wretched life is not the whole of man; that an animal so sagacious and provident, and capable of such proficiency in science and virtue, is not like the beasts that perish; that there is a dwelling-place prepared for the spirits of the just, and that the ways of God will yet be vindicated to man. The sentiments of religion, which were implanted in my mind in my early youth, and which were revived by the awful scenes which I have seen passing before my eyes in the world, are, I trust, deeply rooted in my heart by this great calamity."

MONOPOLY.

Monopoly is the conversion of *tuum* into *meum* by a legal act of simple unmixed injustice. It is essentially privative. It confers nothing—it only takes away. It gives no right—it merely places right in abeyance. It would be well if this feature of it were thoroughly understood. Too commonly it is regarded as somewhat given to a few, which in fairness should be given to all. It is nothing of the sort. It is a somewhat, which all possess of natural right, taken away from the mass, that the right left in the hands of a few may have a fictitious value. It is not a crop raised on a certain spot, while all the rest of the field is left bare, but a crop previously existing, mowed down in all parts of the field, except a little circle capriciously marked out. Monopoly is defined "the exclusive right of selling a thing;" but the right to sell that which is mine—in other words to exchange it for that which is yours, both parties consenting, is possessed antecedently to government; and, to render it exclusive, either my right or your's must be taken away. The power which created monopoly must do so by practising injustice. There is no way to privilege but over the mangled remains of right. The whole spirit, the direct precepts, and, we may add, the early practice of Christianity, are dead against monopoly. "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," and "Look not every man on his own things, but every man on the things of others," constitute a two-edged sword which cuts asunder all exclusive pretensions. And if, in the morning purity of the Church, men voluntarily held all things in common, and no man called aught that he possessed his own, one can hardly see how the same system could sanction the destruction of a common right with a view to individual advantage.—*Non-Conformist.*

HUMOROUS.

A Colloquy.—"How do you do, Mr. Smith?" "Do what?" "How do you find yourself?" "I never lose myself." "How do you feel?" "Pretty smooth, I guess—feel me, and see." "Good morning, Mr. Smith." "It's rather a bad one—wet and nasty."

Jeu d'Esprit.—The editor of the London Age says, that, having occasion to explore files of morning papers for an advertisement, several singular notions struck his eye. The following, from the British Traveller, are specimens:

"Common Sense," if possible, in our next.

"Christianity" must be deferred for more temporary matter.

"Scandal" has already appeared in a former number.

"Truth" is inadmissible.

"Honesty" would be unintelligible to many of our readers.

We know nothing of "Good Manners;" therefore the writer must be mistaken in his conjectures.

"Scurrility" may depend upon being inserted during the course of the week.

"Decency" must be altered to make it fit for our columns.

"A Patriot" is at present rather out of date.

"An Honest Lawyer," with other originals, in a day or two.

"Matter of Fact" does not come within the circle of newspaper intelligence.

Non-Committal.—During the election riots, in New-York, between Americans and Irish, on the Catholic school question, some wag chalked on the door of a house of doubtful character, this notice:

"Don't vote any way;
Haven't got any religion;
And wasn't born anywhere."

Grammatical Puns.—A schoolmaster, describing a money-lender, says: "He serves you in the present tense, he lends you in the conditional mood, keeps you in the subjunctive, and ruins you in the future."

A MAJESTIC FLOWER.

In a late number of the Petersburgh Statesman, we find a description of a flower tree which is found in the interior of Ceylon, and may be considered as a wonderful curiosity, excelling in beauty and grandeur all other plants in the vegetable kingdom. The body of the tree is sixty feet high, and straight as a ship's mast, without limb or leaf; but supporting at the top an immense tuft of leaves, each of which is ten or twelve feet long. The stalks of these leaves clasp the body of the tree and incline outward, the long leaves bending over in a graceful curve. This vast crown of evergreens is of itself very grand; but when the tree is fifty years old, there rises from its centre a cone several feet in height, which gradually enlarges, until at length it bursts, with a loud explosion; and a vast, brilliant, golden-colored flower, twelve feet in diameter, appears over the elevated tuft of leaves, as a gorgeous diadem on the head of this queen of the forest. The tree never blooms but once, and does not long survive this grand display of magnificence.

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Warts.—The bark of a willow tree, burnt to ashes, mixed with strong vinegar, and applied to the parts, will remove all warts, corns, or excrescences, on any part of the body.

To prevent Corns from growing on the Feet.—Easy shoes, frequently bathing the feet in lukewarm water, with a little salt or potash dissolved in it. The corn itself will be completely destroyed by rubbing it daily with a little caustic solution of potash, till a soft, flexible skin is formed.

Thin out your Peaches.—The peach trees in this vicinity are overloaded with young fruit, and those who wish to have fine peaches, should lose no time in thinning them out; not leaving more than about one-third of the number. These will grow three times as large, and be worth six times as much, as the whole would be, if left to grow.—*Genesee Farmer.*

New Manure.—There is a kind of mineral earth in Chili, South America, which is said to have most marvellous powers of fertilizing the soil. It is called *Huano.* It is exported to England, where it is so highly esteemed, that it brings $92 per ton. A small quantity, say a pinch with three fingers, applied to a flower-pot, or plant in the garden, produces an astonishing effect in two or three weeks. Some of this valuable earth has lately been sent to the National Institution at Washington; likewise,

Seed beans from Chili, for table use.
Watermelon seed from Chili, Custard apple seed from Chili, Nectarine and Damascus seed from Chili, } very superior.
Nankeen cotton seed from Ecuador.

The cotton is of remarkably deep color, but the staple is short; this would probably be improved by careful cultivation.

Salt—To kill Worms and Grubs.—We have more than once called the attention of our readers to the use of salt for the destruction of worms in fields and gardens. A writer in the Genesee Farmer states, that he has saved his corn for many years past by putting a little salt on each hill, at the rate of one bushel to the acre; that, on a part of his field, not salted, the worms totally destroyed his corn. We have never applied salt in this way, but we feel confident it would have a fine effect on land full of worms. The writer says that, by salting the hills, the worms are driven from it, and feed upon the weeds and grass between the rows; they thus become useful laborers, instead of arrant robbers of the choice products of the field. We hope many trials will be made of the virtues of salt. We can say nothing from our own experience, and can only give a hint to those farmers who are yearly complaining of worms and grubs.—*Mass. Ploughman.*

Saltpetre.—Experiments made within a few years past, prove that saltpetre is worth more for manure, than it usually brings as a drug. It will give a greater corn crop than any other manure; and for grass, it is said to produce "the tallest specimen," and double the quantity that can be raised without it.

Candles.—A new candle has been invented in England. It is made without a wick, a hole running completely through the centre, into which a movable wick is inserted, not filling the space. Air is thus admitted through this hole, to feed the flame, and thus the amount of light is quadrupled. Whether four times the quantity of tallow is consumed, or not, is not stated. *Quere.*—Would not the tallow, in burning, melt, so as to run down the central orifice, and fill up the passage between the candle and the wick, thus excluding the current of air? We would suggest the use of a wick of rye straw, which would admit a current of air through its centre, without the liability of its being filled up.—*Boston Courier.*

A Hint to Blacksmiths.—The cutting of the bars of iron or pipes with the chisel, is a laborious and tardy process. By the following mode, the same end is attained more speedily, easily, and neatly: Bring the iron to a white heat, and then, fixing it in a vice, apply the common saw, which, without being turned in the edge, or injured in any respect, will divide it as easily as if it were a carrot.

Miscellaneous Items.

The Apportionment.—The number of representatives to which the slave States are entitled, by the new ratio, on the *slave* population of over two millions, is 20. In other words, if the *free* population only were represented, the number of members from those States would be only 68, instead of 88.

What, if New England farmers were allowed to give three votes for every five of their oxen? The principle would be quite as republican, and as rational.

The President and Directors of the James River and Kanawha Company, Virginia, have passed resolutions, absolving General James Hamilton from all blame with regard to the temporary diversion of a large amount of their funds. They say they are convinced that he looked to the ultimate advancement of their interests; and in proof of their confidence, have requested him to resume the full powers of attorney, which he had resigned.

West India Cotton.—Jamaica cotton is advertised for sale in that island. The harvest is large, and the quality very superior.

Outrage at Harvard University.—A large bombshell was placed in Professor Pierce's recitation room, in University Hall, which exploded with such violence, as to shatter the room in every part. The partitions of three other rooms contiguous, were all thrown down, and other injury done to the rooms. The windows were all broken, and the floor broken through down to the Commons Hall. The cause of the outrage is not known, nor have the perpetrators been discovered.—*Boston Transcript.*

Sad Accident.—A sad accident occurred in Tyringham on the 24th ult.; which should be placed upon record, as a warning to young lads, to be careful in the use of firearms. A young lad took a loaded double-barrelled gun, contrary to the commands of his parents, and went into the field of a neighbor, where the contents were very carelessly discharged, and lodged in the body of Horace Collins, a son of Mr. Chester Collins, about fifteen years old. Though everything was done that medical skill could do, young Collins died in about six hours.—*Lenox Eagle.*

Serious Affair at Newburyport.—A man named Farrington, who resides in West Newbury, visited Newburyport on Monday afternoon, and becoming intoxicated, was surrounded by a gang of boys, who annoyed him until his patience was exhausted, when he drew a knife, and stabbed one of them in the abdomen, and another in the head, near the temple. He also wounded a lad from West Newbury, named Hall, (who was endeavoring to persuade him to go home,) in the hand. The boy who is wounded in the abdomen, is not expected to recover. His name is Thomas Garvin. Farrington was arrested, and committed to prison. He is said to be a man of bad character, and intemperate habits.

The Post Office.—A new rule has been established at our post office, respecting the return of worthless letters. It has been customary to refund the postage on letters returned unopened, and on letters which, being opened, were found to be impositions. That was right, and according to all the principles of equity and the established rules of law. The carrier of packages does it at his own risk, and cannot compel the consignee to receive those packages and pay freight. We understand that an order has been issued from the general post office, breaking up this fair mode of proceeding, and ordering that postage shall not be returned, unless letters are rejected at the first glance, without being taken away, or even examined.—*Journal of Commerce.*

Bridegroom Shot.—The Louisville Journal says: "A Mr. Barnes, stage driver, ran away with the daughter of Mr. William Thurston, tavern-keeper, near Evansville, and arrived at Mt. Carmel on the following morning, where they were married. The marriage ceremony was nearly over, when Mr. Thurston (who had been in diligent pursuit) entered the room, and shot Barnes on the spot. There were hopes of the wounded man's recovery. Thurston is in jail."

CHESTERFIELD BOARDING SCHOOL,

For Boys under fourteen years of Age,

Situated on the Crosswicks road, about three miles from Bordentown, N. J.

THE School will open for the summer term, on the 16th day of the 5th month, 1842. In the government of the school, care will be extended to form such habits and inculcate such principles, as will best advance the welfare of the pupils, both morally and physically. The scholars will be expected to attend (with their teacher) Friends' meeting, at Crosswicks, about three-fourths of a mile distant. The number of boys limited to twenty.

TERMS: Sixty dollars per term of twenty-two weeks; payable half in advance, the remainder in the middle of the term—books and stationery included; no extra charges. The services of an assistant in the school has been engaged. It is desirable that the outer garments of the boys should be dark colored, and all the clothing marked with the pupil's name. HENRY W. RIDGWAY.

References.—Joseph Ridgway, No. 70, Chesnut street; George Truman, No. 105, Arch street; George M. Justice, No. 149, Market street; Philadelphia. Charles Marriott, I. T. Hopper, J. S. Gibbons, New-York.

4th-mo. 21. 3m—p.

FREE LABOR BOOT AND SHOE STORE,

Wholesale and Retail.

THE subscriber notifies his friends and the public generally, that he keeps constantly on hand, at the most reasonable prices, a large assortment of WOMEN'S and CHILDREN'S BOOTS AND SHOES, of every description, and best materials, and entirely free from the contamination of slave labor.

Country Merchants will do well to call and examine for themselves, before purchasing elsewhere.

All orders punctually executed, at the shortest notice.

JAMES WILLIS,

No. 211 Arch street, one door below 7th

Philadelphia, June 16, 1842. p.—6m.

FREE-LABOR GOODS,

At Wholesale and Retail.

CALICOES, small and large figures; 4-4, 5-4, and 6-4 unbleached Muslins; do. do. do. bleached Muslins; super Manchester Ginghams; 3-4 and 4-4 colored Muslins; 7-8 and 4-4 Bed Tickings; Canton Flannel, bleached and unbleached; Cotton Laps and Wadding, low price; bleached and unbleached and colored Knitting Cotton; Cotton Yarn; Manchester Stripe, for men's wear; Apron Checks and Furniture Checks. Also, a full assortment of Cloths, Cassimeres, Linen Sheetings and Shirtings, Grass Cloth Hdkfs., Mouslin de Laines, and Silks.

Persons from a distance, (store-keepers in particular,) wishing any of the above goods can have them sent, by forwarding their orders, and at the lowest prices at which they can be afforded.

N. B.—The above cotton goods are all warranted to be *free from Slave Labor.* Persons wishing to purchase can have full evidence of the fact.

CHARLES WISE,

N. W. corner of Arch and Fifth streets

Philadelphia, 1st mo., 13th, 1842.

Free-Labor Goods.

Calicoes, muslins, bedticking, canton flannel, white and brown sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, &c. Wholesale and retail, by CHARLES COLLINS.

No. 3 Cherry-street, New-York.

5th mo. 3d, 1842.

FREE LABOR DRY GOODS.

Manufactured by American Free Produce Association

1-4 Stout muslin bleached and unbleached; furnitur checks, 4 qualities and prices; apron checks, do. dc 7-4 and 8-4 table diaper, (huckaback,) bleached and unbleached; 7-4 and 8-4 table diaper, (bird's-eye,) bleached and unbleached; bird's-eye cotton towelling; bed ticking, pantaloons stuffs, yellow striped; Manchester ginghams, various patterns and two qualities; canton flannel, bleached and unbleached; wadding, black and white; cotton laps, &c. for sale retail by LYDIA WHITE, No. 241, North Second street, and wholesale by D. L. MILLER, Jr. 250 Arch street, or W. C. BETTS, 43 Cherry street.

In addition to the above, the association is now having made colored cambrics, men's half hose, women's stockings, cotton fringe, cord, calicoes, pantaloon stuffs, fancy patterns. LYDIA WHITE,

D. L. MILLER, Jr.

Philadelphia, 3d mo. 31, 1842. W. C. BETTS.

PHILADELPHIA ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE,

No. 31, North Fifth street.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard, will be issued regularly from this office, on Thursday of every week.

Terms—the same as in New-York; i. e. $2,00 a year if paid in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months. $10,00 in advance will pay for six copies for one year, sent to one address; and $30,00 will pay for twenty copies.

A full assortment of anti-slavery publications is kept constantly on hand. Also, a handsome variety of miscellaneous books, and useful and fancy stationery.

All letters relating to the business of the office, should be directed to *J. Miller McKim*, No. 31, North Fifth st.

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